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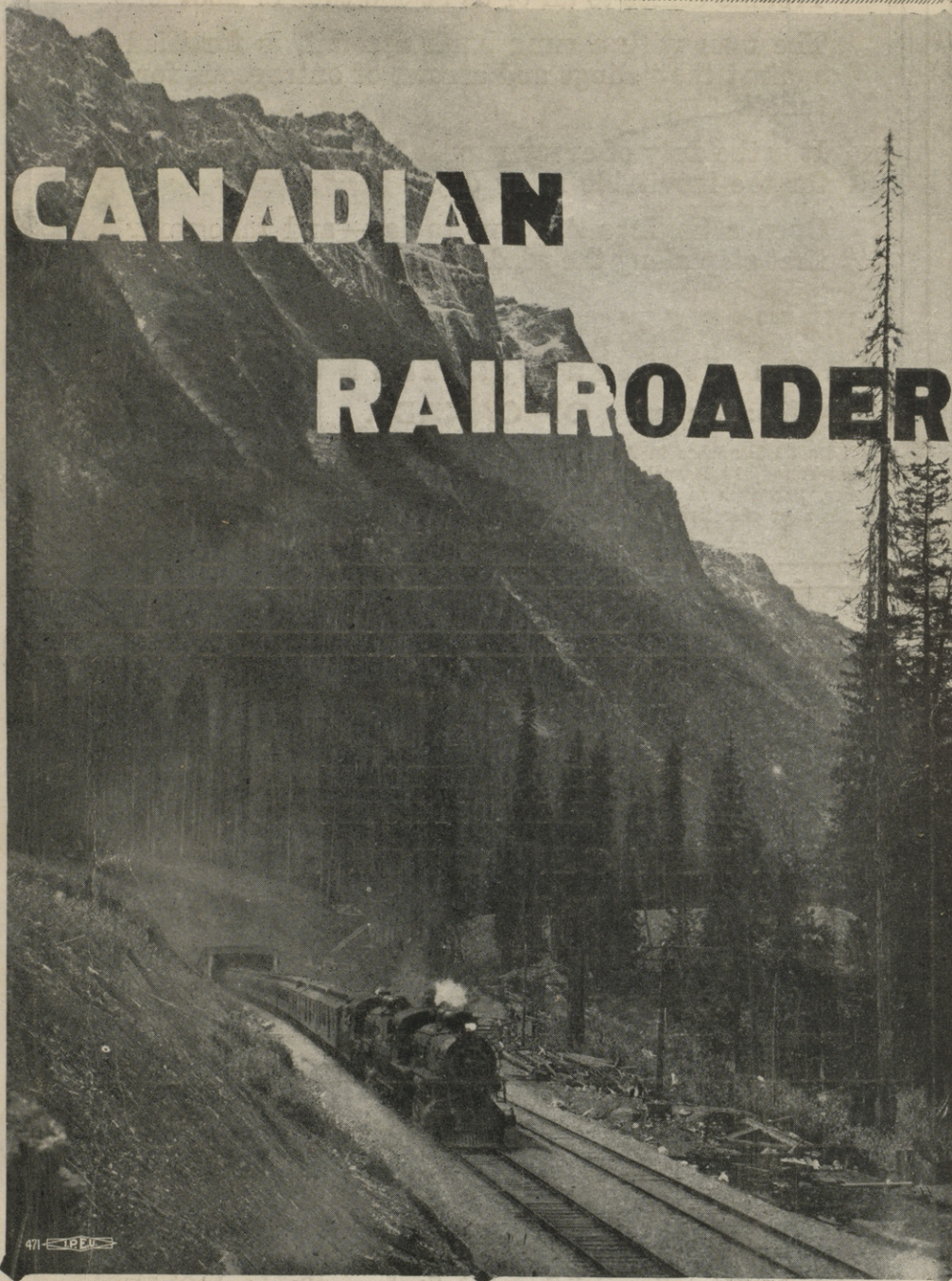
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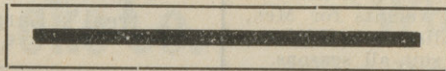
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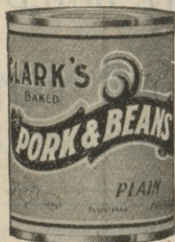
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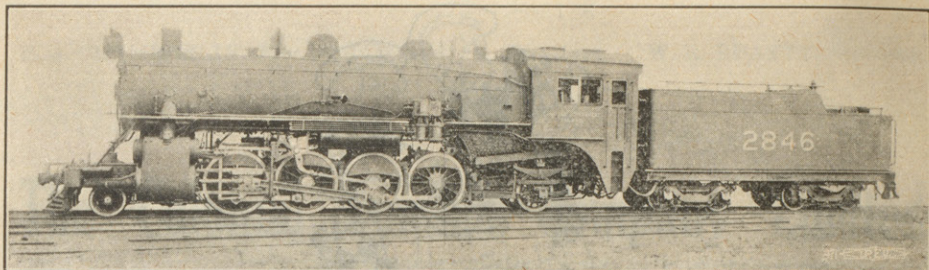


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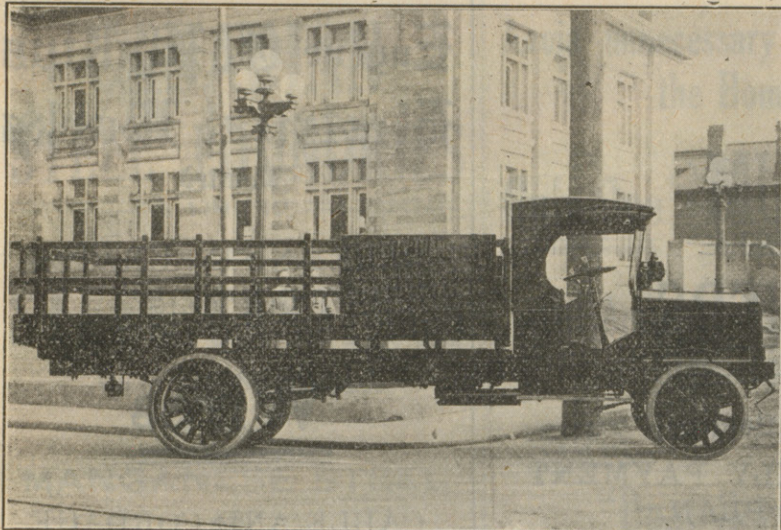
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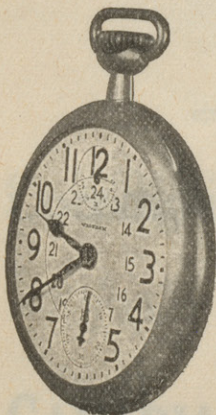
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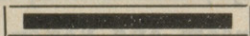
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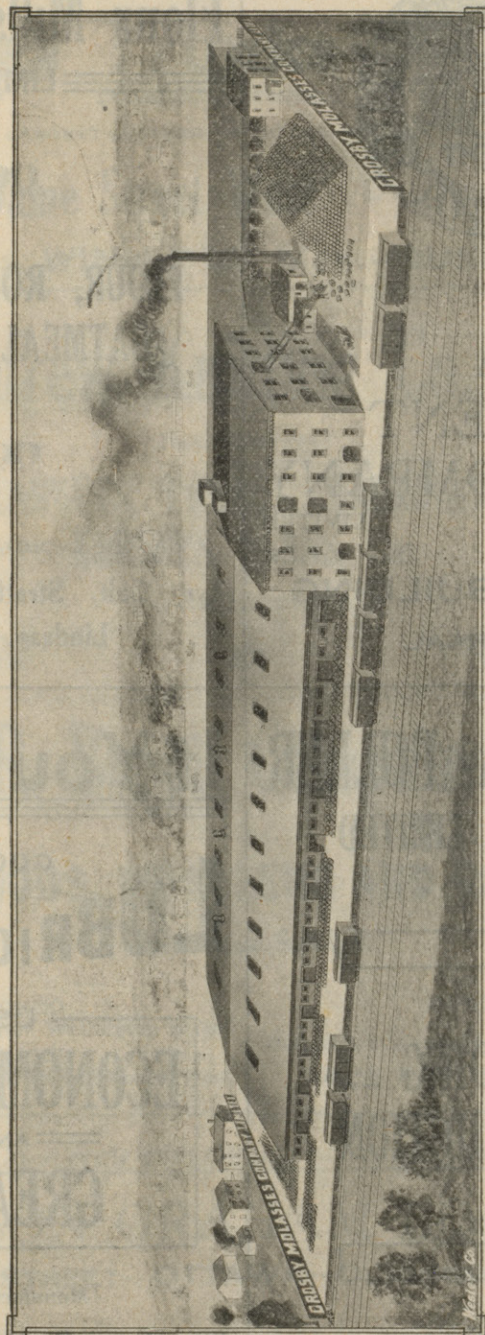
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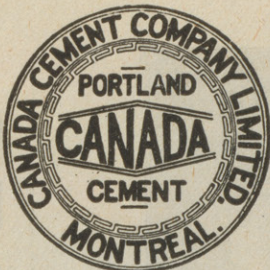
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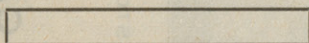
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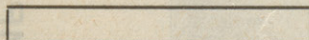
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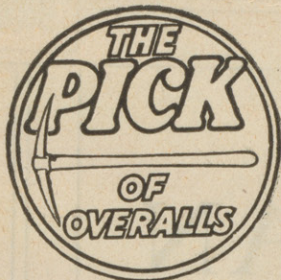
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The Canadian Railroader

A JOURNAL OF THE PEOPLE

Vol. 1.—No. 5.

MONTREAL, MARCH 1919.

Issued Quarterly.

EDITORIAL

THE TARIFF QUESTION

IT is evident that the political stage is rapidly being prepared for a great tariff battle. The Western agricultural areas are unequivocally demanding the removal of the tariff while the manufacturing East is vigorously urging the retention of an adequate tariff which will enable the manufacturer to not only protect his business, but to provide enough revenue therefrom to expand and develop his enterprise.

The result of this controversy has greatly widened the gulf between East and West, and actually threatens the Dominion with catastrophe.

With the defeat of German autocracy the tendency of class autocracy has developed, not only in Canada, but the world over. Each of the many classes which constitutes society pretends to believe that the domination of the particular class to which it belongs offers the only hope for a new democracy.

Theoretically it is admitted that a successful democracy depends upon conciliations and on a policy of give-and-take, so that each class may receive all the benefits possible without interfering with the prosperity of the other classes.

If the various interests would recognize that the interests of each are inseparably bound up and dependent upon the prosperity of the whole, we would quickly recognize the injustice and the impracticability of any one class seeking to benefit at the expense of another section of society.

Under existing conditions the manufacturer who is engrossed in his own problems is alone incapable of giving an unbiased opinion on the tariff, and the farmer, with no knowledge of the problems of manufacture and with no experience in the affairs of labor, is in an identical position.

The futility of a satisfactory solution to the tariff question through party government is illustrated by the fact that our present Government was elected solely on a mandate to carry on the war with the utmost vigor. There never was any thought in the public mind at the time of the last elections that they would be called upon for tariff legislation.

At the present time it would be very difficult to find anyone that is satisfied on the tariff question. If it is to be kicked about as a political football by party politics then we may well prepare for financial storms.

Political adherence is largely a matter of the accident of birth. Individuals are divided into low tariff and high tariff advocates largely as a result of the political affiliations of their parents, and not as a result of independent judgment gained through an impartial study on the question.

The Canadian Railroader is greatly interested in this struggle, for the reason that the position of the railroadman is somewhat different from that of the average Trades Unionist because, although the Trades Unionist, identified with the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada has a direct interest in the success of the manufacturer his connection with the farmer is rather remote, but the railroadman has a direct interest in the manufacturer and the agriculturist because the prosperity of the roads by which he is employed depends for its prosperity not only upon the well-being of the farmer but of the manufacturer as well. The railroader serves both in the daily routine of his work. He is intimately identified with both sides of the tariff controversy.

The Canadian Railroader having at heart not only the interests of our own class, but the welfare of the entire community which we serve, urgently suggests that the tariff question, once and for all, be permanently removed from the political arena. We urge that it must be the first concern of all to ensure stability to the manufacturing interests of the Dominion in view of the enormous debts incurred through the war, which will have to be met by taxation, tariff income and income tax.

It will be necessary to make plans far in advance of actual conditions to meet these obligations. Such plans can neither be devised nor matured unless the Dominion is guaranteed security against political tariff convulsions. We hold that the national debt is a debt of honor. It must be paid and, therefore, it is a national obligation to remove every obstacle which may threaten the national prosperity.

To this end the Canadian Railroader urges:

1. That a permanent Tariff Commission be established.
2. That the elements of society deeply interested shall each have a representative on this Commission.
3. That the Commission shall consist of five members.
 - (a) The manufacturers shall nominate one member.
 - (b) The Trades Unionists, through their Executive on the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada, in conjunction with the Executive of the Railroad Brotherhoods, shall nominate one member.

(c) The agricultural class, through the Council of Agriculture, shall nominate one member.

(d) The Government in power at the time of the appointment of the Commission shall nominate one member who shall be known as the Government Revenue member.

(e) The Government in power at the time of the appointment of the Commission shall nominate one member as a tariff statistician.

(f) A department of scientific research, capable of analyzing processes of costs and manufacture shall be operated under the authority and jurisdiction of the Commission.

(g) The Chairman of the Commission shall always be the statistician.

4. Each member of the Commission shall receive a salary of not less than \$15,000.00 a year and shall have the selection of a qualified tariff statistician and staff.

5. The members of the Commission to be appointed for life, subject only to the recall of the organization by which they have been chosen.

6. The Commission shall hold daily sessions, excepting on legal holidays.

7. The Commission shall have power to fix the tariffs, to examine the books and to ascertain the cost and selling price with reference to goods of any manufacturer seeking tariff protection.

8. The tariff fixed by the Commission shall be final and unassailable unless subsequently changed by action of the Commission or a special act of Parliament.

In urging this Commission we believe:

1st—That the removal of the tariff question from politics will guarantee stability and progress not only to the manufacturer and the farmer, but to the workingman and all citizens of the Dominion.

2nd—We recommend its flexibility because with the production of new raw materials, the invention of new processes, the combination of old ideas into new and useful methods, adjustments can be quickly made to meet the ever-changing conditions.

3rd—It would at all times ensure sufficient protection to the manufacturer to enable him to compete successfully with foreign competition.

4th—It will effectively protect the farmer and the consuming public from manufacturers who might seek to use the tariff to demand extortionate prices from the consumer.

5th—It will ensure the maximum amount of work to the Canadian workingman.

6th—By eliminating the periodical tariff disturbances we shall be able to lay constructive plans to liquidate our debts and to execute such plans with precision.

7th—It will ensure proper protection for all classes and in this manner be a genuine benefit to the entire country.

Our faith in a Tariff Commission has been greatly strengthened by the experiences which followed the establishment of the Railway Commission which admittedly has been of tremendous benefit and value to all classes within the Dominion. The very excellent results obtained are due to the fact that the Commission eliminated all possibility of political interference in the conduct and administration of our railways.

And, lastly, it will place the country's business on a business footing, free from political interference and the periodical interruptions which have been the cause of great depressions in all countries where the tariff has been recognized as a political rather than a business issue.

In conclusion, we urge a Tariff Commission and invite frank and open criticism from everyone who has at heart the best interests of this Dominion. We should be pleased to receive your ideas on this subject. Please address all communications to the Canadian Railroader, 60 Dandurand Building, Montreal, Que., and plainly write your address so that we may have the opportunity of replying to you.

THE CRISIS

THE whole world is shaking with industrial convulsion. It is rocking the entire structure with its rigors. Famine is painting the cheeks of millions with its hideous pallor, while anarchy is dancing about, torch in hand, an illumined goblin in the nightmare. On every sharp and hidden rock in the swirling aftermath of war sits the seductive Loralie singing a dreamy and enchanting song to lure us on to new terrors and greater sorrows.

There never was a time in the history of civilization when it became such a duty for man and woman to think—to think hard and to use good, common hard sense in thinking.

Most of us in Canada have had only national experience and so our thought has been confined to national, municipal and provincial affairs. Few of us have had the advantages of international travel and observation and comparatively only a limited number among us have been sufficiently educated to think or study in international terms.

Perhaps it would be to our advantage to concentrate our minds with vigor upon our own affairs. We might then realize the seriousness and the enormity of our own problems and we might bring to bear upon these conditions the wholesome influence

of the sober, sensible calm thought which is the most commendable characteristic of our Canadian people.

First and foremost is the tariff question. It is most important that Canadian industries should be developed in order to insure employment to Canadian workmen and this implies the support of an adequate tariff. Our own views on the subject are clearly stated in the editorial which follows.

To create a good economic understanding between the East and the West which will insure industrial stability in order that unbearable taxation shall not fall upon the farmer and the worker is another problem which merits your earnest consideration.

For the good of all we need to co-operate in every measure that will increase agricultural production and improve rural conditions.

We will further our own interests and the interests of the Dominion if we support any movement which has as its aim the development of our great natural resources so that Canadian raw materials mined by Canadian workmen may encourage the final processes of manufacture in Canada. By promoting and adhering to industrial organization versus the principal of disorganization preached by many excited and inexperienced apostles of new experiments it will be possible to develop domestic and foreign trade which will give employment to great numbers of Canadian workmen.

The proposition of improving the relations between Labor and Capital through the medium of trade board councils and national parliaments should be carefully considered. The Whitley Report should be studied by every trades unionist and every manufacturer in the Dominion. The trade parliament is an institution that has come to stay.

We should encourage and support scientific research. We should endeavour in every way to improve the economic and industrial position of women and we should fight against child labor wherever it shows its head. Child labor is a national waste, a prodigious national prodigality which no nation can afford.

We should support any movement which will bring greater educational advantages to the masses of the people.

WE ARE A YOUNG, A VIGOROUS AND A HEALTHY PEOPLE. The future may be faced with cheerful optimism, with the courage that is our heritage and with the common sense that is our blessing. We may resolutely and with every certainty of success face the problems which confront us.

But many a sweet throated political song bird will warble strangely alluring tunes from the withering limbs of the dead trees. Fair charmers in long frock coats will pour out sweet enchantments about nationalizing railways while reciting the many advantages and the transcendent virtues of non taxable Victory Bonds. It would certainly be interesting to Railroadmen if the non-taxable Victory Bond and the proposed nationalization of

railroads were to be fully discussed in parallel columns of the future Canadian Railroader Weekly.

Our port in every storm is our common sense. It is more than likely that politicians at Ottawa will discover this very astonishing but truthful fact if the nationalization of our railways becomes a political issue.

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Fifth Sunday Meeting

Mr. E. W. Beatty, President of C. P. R., Urged Careful Consideration of Railway Problems. — Railroad Men greatly Impressed by the Sound Sensible Arguments of the President. — Hon. Senator Robertson, Minister of Labor, and Peter Wright of Seamen's Union Delighted Large Audience. — Meeting Voted Great Success. — Meeting January 12th, 1919 at Windsor Hall, J. A. Woodward presiding.

THE CHAIRMAN:—

MY FRIENDS: We meet here to-night because we believe that in these momentous days, men and women from every class of society, should meet upon a common platform and discuss the pressing problems of the hour. Hence the reason why we have invited employees from the great railroad systems and men from all branches of the service.

We believe that during these days of reconstruction the only safe and commonsense course to pursue is to meet and discuss the problems with which we are confronted, believing that the future of our country rests upon a clear appreciation of the responsibilities of citizenship—only to be achieved through education—intelligence understanding, demanding a whole-hearted co-operation of all citizens for the common good. During the past four years we have been anxiously watching the trend of events in Europe. We have lived through the most stirring days in history, a period with grave issues. The war has broken the old bonds, releasing social and economic forces which if unregulated, if not effectively controlled, may wreck our civilization. Therefore we must face the new issue and must all seriously play our part in establishing a stable society.

The dawn of a new era is breaking. The people are striving towards a higher plan. Everywhere we can hear rumblings of discontent—here in this land of plenty—many are wondering if they will be able to weather the winter without feeling the pinch of poverty.

The day has arrived when we must not boast of the prosperity of a nation, while we tolerate abject poverty side by side with extravagant wealth. Reforms

are due in the State, in the school, and in industry, which must be and will be accomplished. We can no more stop them than we can stop the seasons changing or the river St. Lawrence flowing unto the sea.

The foundation upon which our civilization rests, and upon which we must rear our new democracy, is education—consequently the necessity for an efficient education system. I think that you will agree with me, when I say, that we must not lose sight of the ideals for which we entered the war, namely, Freedom, Democracy, Progress. Where does Freedom start? Where does Democracy start? Where does Progress start? I answer "in the school". Professor Dale said at our last meeting, "After all in the last analysis all that matters is the groups of little children here and there all over our land—the future citizens of our country."

The cardinal principles of our Association are as follows:

1st.—Political representation of the country's workmen, those who toil by hand or by brain.

2nd.—The advancement of education on a par with the most enlightened policies to be found in any part of the world.

3rd.—Methodical organization of the Dominion into political districts, where capable men, developed by the movement, may be brought forward and run for office in Dominion, Provincial or Municipal elections backed by a carefully prepared organization to ensure success.

We believe that it is only through education, through social enlightenment, and political power, wisely exercised and we hope as we sincerely believe, that

through the medium of this and similar meetings, to be organized in all important centres, and through our own press, "The Canadian Railroader". We will create a broader enlightenment and especially a better understanding, and co-operation between the different classes of society throughout the Dominion and thus serve to promote greater confidence, assuring success in handling the many pressing social and economic problems arising day by day. Within the ranks of the workers of this country, lie hidden men, who if they were afforded the opportunity, could accomplish great national good. It will be one of the objects of our Association, to develop these men, and to assist them, in every way possible, giving them an opportunity to use their talents for the benefit of all. Our activities in the future must be directed towards developing the human side of the great machinery of production, by training, and preparing, our future citizens, to participate more intelligently, in our civic, social, and industrial activities, not as mere machines, but as reasonable human beings, conscious of their responsibilities to the social State.

It is for those happy, noble, human beings, of Ruskins prophecy, that the world is striving, and is ever growing impatient, of an industrial order, which sacrifices human happiness, for the benefit of material progress. I say to you, my friends, it is the task of Christianity, it is the task of our statesmanship and it is the task of our leaders of industry, and our leaders of labor, to lift our nation to a more equal and fraternal social life.

We must move towards a greater justice, in the distribution of wealth, or abandon our claim to enlightened Democracy.

What do we see if we are not blinded by prejudice? Out of the horrors of war, we see the people emerge, grasping the scroll, upon which is written, a new social order, and as the smoke of battle is clearing away, and we get a clearer and broader vision, we see the leaders of the nations, at the Peace Conference, laying the foundation stones, of a League of nations, on understanding, and friend-measure, if not finally, make war impossible in the future, basing the rights of nations, on understanding, and friendship, in the same manner, industrial

strife, and misunderstanding, should be eliminated by education, understanding, co-operation and friendship. Possibly nothing could illustrate so forcibly, the broad spirit of Democracy, actuating our Association, than is evidenced by the fact, that its membership includes every order of society. Its influence is further manifest, in the fact, that it attracts to its platform, the distinguished speakers who are to address us this evening.

I will first call upon the Honorable Senator Robertson, Minister of Labor, who certainly requires no formal introduction, to a Canadian audience, especially one made up of railroad employees. Senator Robertson is strikingly a child of the nation, one who began at the lower rung of the ladder, in the humble capacity of a railroad telegraph operator, and has steadily advanced, until he achieved the high position he now enjoys, in the Councils of the nation, and to his credit let me say, he has never lost touch with his fellow workers, and is just as anxious, just as eager, to promote their interest to-day, as he was while directing the affairs of the Order of Railway Telegraphers, of which he was their honored vice-president. I have much pleasure in asking Senator Robertson to address you.

SENATOR G. D. ROBERTSON :-

Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen: May I assure you that it is a very distinct and sincere pleasure to me to have the opportunity of meeting with so large a gathering composed principally, I presume of railway employees. It is particularly delightful to have this opportunity because of the long association that I have had with a great number of you whom I see here present. It is also a proud privilege when we realise the splendid and patriotic loyal service that our railroad employees in Canada have rendered, both at home and overseas, to meet the country's needs and the country's service during the past four years. It scarcely needs to be recalled, because I think that it is a fact well known to all, that these four years of war have brought about better understandings, better appreciation of each other's needs and wants, and greater respect for each other's rights, as between capital and labor generally, but more especially

between our great Canadian Railways and their employees.

I have in mind to tell you of a meeting in this very building last July, just about the time when the war clouds were darkest, almost at the very moment when many of our statesmen overseas, and our soldier generals, were very very much concerned indeed as to what was going to occur along the battle line. At that meeting Canadian railroad men, and Canadian railroad managers said "So far as we are concerned there shall be nothing to interrupt Canada doing her part in conducting this war, and there shall be no disputes aroused that shall not be settled by mutual conciliation and agreement. That commendable act has been noted, emphasized and commented on all through the great republic to the south of us, because of the fact that it was done voluntarily and not through any pressure brought to bear on anybody.

I am happy to join with you in discussing a few of the questions of the hour that affect us at this time, having, as I believe I have, your sympathy in the feeble attempts I am endeavoring to make at this time to promote the happiness and comfort and prosperity of our working people in Canada. You are here to listen to two distinguished gentlemen to-night, one the head of the greatest railway transportation system in the world, a gentleman who is the peer of any railway official in North America and the world, so far as I know, and one who, I know, commands the respect and confidence of the employees of that great corporation of which he is the head. He will have for us, I am sure, words of advice and wisdom, and observations of which we may well take heed. On the other hand we have a gentleman who has had a somewhat different experience, and who will have a different message for us, and whom I have heard on different occasions recently. He has seen the sufferings and sacrifices made by our people in the Motherland, and on the sea particularly—the head of the great Seamen's Union, the merchant marine of the British Empire, that did perhaps, together with the British Navy, fully as much as the army to secure victory—indeed the efforts of the army would have been entirely futile but for the

assistance rendered by the great army of men of whom Mr. Peter Wright is the head. He will have many interesting and instructive things to say to you and therefore I am not going to trespass on your time at any great length, except to refer to a few matters which I think perhaps are of interest to the people of Canada at the present time, respecting the plans, and the progress those plans are making, in connection with the demobilization of our army, and the repatriation and re-employment of our soldiers and civilian people. I will not go into details but skim over the facts as briefly as possible. I have no apprehension as to the outcome or of Canada's future, nor do I fear any serious discontent or hardship arising in this country. And I am going to tell you briefly why, because I think it is only by having a knowledge of what really are the existing facts that we can perhaps form the best opinion as to what the future holds in store. When hostilities ceased there were many of us in Canada who feared that the end of the war would bring about such a dislocation of industry in Canada that there would be a tremendous army of unemployed and greater hardship and suffering, and that in addition the bringing home of our soldiers from overseas and their repatriation and restoration to civil life, was going to so flood the labor market that we would have difficult times ahead, and perhaps trouble.

Let us just analyze the situation a moment and I think it will be clear to all of us that there is no occasion for fear. There were something like 200,000 munition workers, most of them engaged in these two provinces. Careful survey has been kept of the change in the situation from week to week and while in the two large cities Toronto and Montreal, there is to-day a considerable surplus of labor, yet taking the country over, there are only about 15,000 more men out of employment than there were on November 11. Records have been received from more than 6,000 employers, each of whom employed 25 men or women and over, and the indications are that outside of those two large cities there has been more people added to the staffs of the various industries than have been laid off, so that the absorbing of our civilians

thrown out of work by reason of the discontinuance of the war industries has been very satisfactory. And added to that there is this further point which is giving further relief and that is, that during the war period we had a large number of citizens from foreign lands who carried on and labored more or less effectively and steadily, who were watching for the first opportunity to return to their home land as soon as the war was over. We have been sent notifications and requests that we should not allow or permit this class of labor to be withdrawn from our shores, but so far it has not been necessary to pay much heed because there is a surplus at the present time, at least no scarcity. One gentleman from the city of Hamilton wrote to us that 5,000 from that vicinity had already gone to New York and other ports seeking passage home to Europe, men who had not seen their families for three or four years, and have not heard from them for a length of time, and who were just as anxious to get back to their homeland and find out how their families had fared as we would be in like circumstances. That has tended also to relieve the labor situation.

Now as to the soldiers returning, we need have no apprehension. A very large number of our soldiers have their positions waiting for them when they return, but if they have not they will not suffer any real hardship even though a number of them do not obtain employment until the coming spring, because of the provision made for them by the Government, in providing six months pay, with a minimum of \$70 for a single man and \$100 per month for a married man, in addition to their other allowances already provided for, which will prevent any real hardship coming to them until the winter season is over. In the light of those facts I don't think we need to have any fear of any great calamity as a result of lack of employment in this country overtaking Canada, and after the snows of this winter have disappeared and our business becomes normal I anticipate that before another summer gets around Canada will have started on the path of progress she is mapping out for herself, and will be able to absorb before another winter comes

all of the men and women who desire to work.

You say perhaps that that is rather a large order. Let me point this fact out to you that including all of our army overseas and including all our unemployed people at the present moment—and this is the slackest season of the year—they do not aggregate a number equal to the normal immigration of a normal year into this country. And if we can absorb 300,000 or 400,000 people from foreign lands, most of them untrained and unskilled in a single year, I do not think we will have any difficulty in absorbing our army of largely skilled men, citizens of Canada, when they return, because we are not going to have any great tide of immigration for a time at least. Therefore I think conditions will right themselves and that Canada will speedily proceed along her way to develop her natural resources and industries, which will bring great prosperity to her transportation systems and greatly increase the happiness and welfare of our whole people.

It might be of interest to briefly relate a few of the things that have been undertaken and plans which are now being put into operation with reference to the return of our soldiers. I take it that the most of you, all of you doubtless, have friends, and most of you near relatives or immediate members of your family overseas, and therefore it is a matter of personal interest to us all. Very great care, very much thought has been given to this important question, and plans have been worked out in detail which are being put into operation, and which are beginning to work naturally and smoothly—except where certain incidents occur which must always be expected. As the army is demobilised in England, the men are gathered into units. Canada is divided into 22 dispersal areas, and as the men are sent home from overseas, they are sent in parties of about 500 men to each dispersal area. When they arrive at Halifax, through co-operation of the Canadian Railway War Board, there is adopted a scheme by which the boys are quickly transferred from ship to train and are landed at their destination without change in most cases. There they get

a medical examination and are discharged from service. In order to be fair to them and to protect the State this examination must be held, because upon the results of the medical examination will be determined the amount of pension which they may be entitled to. It is therefore important that these details be attended to. When the man is discharged he is permitted to retain his uniform as a souvenir which will be dear to the heart of every soldier, the sum of \$35 with which to purchase himself a little civilian clothing, his deferred pay, which in some cases runs as high as six hundred dollars, and his railway transportation to his home town. And then from month to month, in accordance with the provisions of the regulations that have been passed, he will receive monthly payments for a period of six months if he has been in service three years, any part of which is overseas, of the sums I have mentioned.

The Soldiers Re-establishment Commission, which is a new department of government created some months ago, undertakes to watch over the soldier and assist him in every way possible to be reinstated and restored to a satisfactory position in civil life, and to also do everything necessary to assist him in maintaining himself for some time to come until he is well able and competent to take care of himself as well as before. We cannot expect, we do not expect, that our soldiers will be normal citizens immediately they take off the uniform. For three or four years they have been thinking and doing but one thing, they have been fed, they have been clothed, housed and directed, and had only one thought, that was to shoot the Hun or get him some other way. Therefore to immediately release them from that environment and from those conditions, and turn them loose to care for themselves, clothe themselves, arrange for themselves and manage for themselves would not be fair. You can at once realize that if we were in that position, after four years removal from it, that we would need some little time to get our bearings. It is not to be understood that the sum gratuity named is to be regarded as compensation, but simply as a small portion of the help

that the country feels and knows that it owes to the soldier. If the soldier is disabled on return he is cared for, continued under pay and taught any trade or given instruction in any vocation that he may choose, and already something like 9,260 men have been receiving instruction and more than half of those are already placed in positions where they are earning their own living comfortably through the assistance and management of the department I have named.

There are unfortunately a very considerable number of our poor boys who have come back seriously gassed, who went through such a hell of fire and mud and other things equally bad that their reason has been, at least temporarily, lost to them, and very careful arrangements are being made to give to those poor fellows the very best care possible until they either recover or so long as they shall live. Then there is another class to which I may just briefly refer and that is the dependents of those who will never come back, and the disabled soldier whose efficiency has been impaired by reason of wounds received at the front, both of whom must be cared for in a limited degree by way of pension. I do not believe there is any of us that feel that the compensation of the soldier, or the pension to him or his dependants, is in any way adequate to compensate them for the suffering they have endured or for the service they have rendered. But as in all other things in our domestic life, in our business life, in our national life, we must do the best we can to meet the situation and still carry on. The gratuity which I have mentioned that will be paid to our soldiers to help tide them over the first six months of their return to civil life, will cost Canada more than \$100,000,000. The national debt of Canada has grown as a result of this war to \$2,000,000,000, which means that our annual interest at five per cent must be for many years to come \$100,000,000 a year. Add to that our pension bill, which our Finance Minister has estimated at \$30,000,000 a year, so that the permanent burden we must bear to meet our interest and pension obligations is almost equal to the total revenue of Canada for some years prior to

the war. Therefore any observing man who will stop to think will realize that Canada's Government has probably done the best it could under the circumstances, and if Canada's Parliament thinks that these compensations should be improved, I know it will be done to the limit of the country's ability to meet the need. In the year 1914, just before the war broke out, there was a depression in Canada. There was a great deal more unemployment in June 1914 than there is to-day. Manufacturers and producers of almost every sort of goods were at that time fearful of what was going to happen and hesitated to go on with their business, and production was slackening. That was the natural thing we might have expected to happen immediately the armistice was signed, because material of all sorts that entered into the manufacture of articles of all sorts was double the price of normal times. Likewise wages were at the highest point they had reached in the history of this country, and it was natural for the manufacturer to presume that it must be bad business for him to continue to buy material and carry on at the high labor cost when he might find his sale prices falling. But I want to say that I think great credit is due to the manufacturing interests of this country, that there has been neither any attempt to reduce wages nor any attempt to create any artificial depression by shutting off production. A great many of our big manufacturing firms are carrying on anticipating a loss in their business for the next few months, but they agree it is their patriotic duty at this time to assist the working people of Canada who have carried on so nobly during the past four years and who have borne perhaps the greatest burden of the war because the purchasing power of their earnings have been decreased from year to year and they have made sacrifices greater than any other class. So far as possible extra strenuous efforts are being made to employ people and to create employment wherever possible both by Government and private concerns. That is no idle or empty statement. I can assure you it is a statement of fact and that it was undertaken in anticipation of the end of the war more than five months ago. In this

very building only three weeks ago the shoe manufacturers, of whom I think there are 79 different firms in Canada, employing thousands of men, through their president at a meeting of their Association stated that there should be no reduction of wages in that industry so long as the cost of living remained at its present level at least, and that is only an instance of what other branches of the Canadian manufacturers are doing. The Lumbermen's Association have sent out a circular to all their members to the effect that they have made similar promises to the department of labor, and under these conditions we have endeavored to supply them with a great many men and have succeeded.

May I make brief reference to one thing that comes under the Department of Labor. There are being established at the present moment, and half of the officers are already appointed, a chain of Government employment agencies or offices across the country through which it is intended and expected that we will be able to bring great relief and assistance to the workmen seeking employment and to the employer seeking labor. These agencies or offices are to be maintained at the joint expense of the Federal and Provincial Governments operated under the jurisdiction and administered by the Provincial Governments but free and open to all employers and workmen, soldiers and civilians, free of cost. I will not go into the details because it will take too much time.

I have no fear of Canada's future from the standpoint of labor. I fancy my friend Mr. Wright may make reference to the Bolshevik element that we know and hear so much about at the present time, and there have been some evidences of revolutionary agitation in certain parts of Canada. I think we can well afford to not let that worry us. The heart of Canada's population is sound and loyal. There is, in scattered districts, some residents in this country, not citizens of this country generally speaking who are preaching certain doctrines which we do not heed. The prosperity, the happiness of any people, their loyalty to their country and its form of Government, is largely due to the extent in which the indivi-

duals are interested in the State themselves. Fortunately in Canada a very large proportion of our people either own or have an interest in the property where they reside, and when a man is attempting to be a good citizen and own his little home and gather round him a little competency with which he can feel he can pass his old age in reasonable comfort, he is interested in building up the state by constructive policies, and not interested in revolution and destructive policies. I have no fear that in Canada we will experience difficulty of any moment in that direction. And if we do what would happen? Half a million of our best boys left their homes and country, friends and interests and went away to foreign lands to protect and defend our free institutions and the great democratic principles upon which the British Empire and this country is founded, and which they so much love. And when those boys are home again do you think for one moment, even though the people at home were not inclined as they are, that those boys would permit the work they have done overseas to be undone at home. I have heard too many of them say what would occur if Bolshevism raises its head in Canada to know that the hope and expectation that some of these revolutionary gentlemen are expressing that the soldiers are going to join hands with this revolutionary influence here is absolute nonsense. Our soldiers will not do it, they have so expressed themselves—their action in Vancouver recently indicated what their action will

be, and what we need to do is to turn our attention towards caring for our soldiers, and treating them as they deserve to be treated.

I fear I have trespassed on the time of the evening too long, but when I get in the company and presence of railroad men, many of whom I have worked alongside of on committees and at meetings of various sorts I forget time. And by the way I forgot I am on the same platform with a number of gentlemen with whom for years past we have attempted from time to time to iron out little disputes with. I am just wondering if 20 years ago it would have been possible for the President of the C. P. R. and some of the representatives of the employees on that railroad to appear on the same platform in a public meeting. I am delighted and I hope the President of the C. P. R. does not feel that it in any way detracts from his dignity, to join in an occasion of this sort. May I say to you that for twelve years it has been my humble ambition to do what I could to assist in promoting the spirit of co-operation and better understanding as between our railway employers and employees, and that by reasonable conservative consistent methods, the differences which arise from time to time and the needs of each other as they appear, shall be settled by peaceful means, and that we should feel that the interests of each is the interest of both rather than that the interests of each are diametrically opposed. As time goes by we see from year to year that those relations get better, and the respect

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for each other increases, I hope that it will be demonstrated clearly by results that co-operation both as to relationship in negotiations and also in service itself upon the railways will amply justify the co-operative spirit that we are attempting to promote.

I thank you for having had this opportunity and desire to wish every success to the Fifth Sunday Meeting Association movement. This is the third opportunity I have had of being with you. I have known Mr. Woodward and Mr. Pierce and the other gentlemen on the Board of Directors, and I know that their intentions are right and sound and good and all that they need is your assistance and backing to extend the good work in order that Canada's railroad men, 170,000 in number may wield a unanimous and consistent influence for good and happiness not only among your own kind but particularly among other labor men as you come in contact with them. It is true, and it is right for the railroad organizations who have perhaps been in existence longer than most of the organizations in other industries, that you are looked to by many other organizations and members as a pattern which they may follow with safety, and the example that the railroad organizations set will be recorded and in many more instances than you realize will be respected and followed by the great army of Canada's working people who during more recent years have attempted to organize themselves for collective bargaining with their employers. And therefore I regard them as having a double duty, the duty that they owe to themselves and their families to do their duty to themselves and also the duty that they have to so continue to conduct their business, in the same conservative way as in years past and thereby guide younger and other organizations into the same paths of proper dealing.

THE CHAIRMAN:—

MY FRIENDS, as an old employee of the Canadian Pacific Railway Company, I can conscientiously say this evening, that I always esteemed it an honor to work even in my humble capacity, for that great corporation, you will therefore appreciate the

pride I naturally feel, in enjoying the honor of presiding over this meeting, to be addressed by its President. Like Senator Robertson, Mr. Beatty requires no formal introduction especially to an audience so largely composed of railwaymen. As the directing head of the greatest transportation organization in existence, his name is of world-wide significance, his career is known to all of us, it has fallen to the lot of few men, to have achieved so commanding a position, at a comparatively early age, and this is the highest tribute that could be paid to the business capacity of any man. In that, it must be, as we know it was in his case, the reward for ability, capacity, and integrity in the discharge of the manifold important duties, with which he has been concerned during his railway career.

I have much pleasure in introducing Mr. Beatty.

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen—

When your president, Mr. Woodward, asked me to speak to you tonight, he mentioned an address which had been delivered by Professor Leacock, of McGill University, and, no doubt, in an effort to impress me with the fact that I was not assuming too difficult a task, he pictured how my friend Professor Leacock, had stood before you without notes and spoke interestingly and instructively for an hour. Mr. Woodward forgot that for years Professor Leacock has been earning his living by speaking and writing while I have eked out an existence by not doing so. I have been practising law for almost eighteen years, and I cannot recall ever having made a speech that I did not have to make.

It is a mystery to me how people can make a living out of talking and writing. If I had to do it, I would slowly starve to death.

Mr. Woodward also assumed, and I admit that tradition rather supports him in the assumption, that railway presidents are at liberty to speak with authority on almost any subject, from the character of woman's clothes to the Government ownership of railways. My views on the first—single presidents have their limitations—would not be of much value, and on the second perhaps considered not unbiased.

Not Role of Mentor

In spite of the tradition I have mentioned as to the freedom with which railway executives are at liberty to discuss general questions, I do not propose to play the role of mentor to this or any other community, and this will explain why Mr. Woodward's suggestion, though the honor of it was keenly appreciated, caused me to hesitate. I felt then, as I do now, that others much better qualified to speak on these subjects might have been chosen, and you would be glad to hear them.

However, it is one of the developments of the past four years of stress and strife, of the serious character of the emergency which we faced and the problems which we have yet to meet, which seems to make it obligatory upon all citizens of Canada to direct their minds to the serious consideration of these problems, and permits of a franker and freer exchange of views in the common interest than would otherwise be perhaps necessary or desirable.

The people of Canada are more alive than ever to the necessity of a careful consideration of these national and domestic problems and their experience during the war; even that experience which dealt with the activities of industries and of the people at home, has tended in a large measure to make them aware of the national importance of

thoughtful consideration of national questions.

Second only to the actual military activities of this nation and those activities which form a proper corollary to it, is the lasting national effect of the campaigns among the people at home, which the war has rendered necessary.

When I say this I mean campaigns such as the Victory Loan, Patriotic Campaign, and the Red Cross, during the past four years. We have not yet reached a realization of the effect upon the people of this country of the combined effect of the effort of thousands of men and women working for one purpose only—the common interest of their country and their country's people who are overseas or at home, and to discuss their country's need with each other.

In the Victory Loan and Patriotic Campaigns it struck me as a natural consequence of the activities of these men and women that more real Canadian sentiment was evoked and a keener appreciation of the elemental principles of Canadian citizenship was reached than in any Canadian effort short of our actual military and war industrial activities.

The aftermath of the war is filled with problems in comparison with which the conduct of the war itself may turn out to be a comparatively simple matter, and if in the solution of those pro-

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blems in that aftermath, and even after that, the foundation is laid for a proper appreciation of duty, tolerance, fair dealing and united effort, the results of our consideration of these questions will be right.

I understand that the majority of your members are connected with transportation companies, and I can therefore speak with freedom on those aspects of Canadian development which pertain particularly to your chosen work. No one associated with transportation during the past four years has any reason to feel ashamed of the part which he or they or the companies have played in Canada's share in the war.

Railways' Proud Part

Only one country was able to maintain without interruption from the beginning to the end of the war an open highway across the Western hemisphere—this was the Dominion of Canada, with her three transcontinental railways. I hope you will remember it because it is a matter of pride. In other words, in spite of the fact that Canada's weather conditions were more arduous for railroad work than those of any other country in the world except Siberia, Canada's was the one route which, without regard to consideration of neutrality, never failed, between Hong Kong, Shanghai, Yokohama, and Vladivostok on the one hand, and Liverpool, London, Plymouth, Glasgow and French ports on the other.

Canada was in the war from the beginning; lost her railroad workers by hundreds and thousands, and was the first big country outside of Russia to have to handle large bodies of troops over great distances. The demand for ships threw upon the Canadian railways a large percentage of the tonnage of coal, wheat and general merchandise which had formerly been carried on the Great Lakes and the St. Lawrence. The growth of the munitions industry created complex variations in the character, volume and direction of traffic. Overseas exports rose from approximately one million tons in 1915, per annum, to over five millions tons in 1918. Exports to the United States were swelled by the greater demand for Canadian raw ma-

terials caused by the growth of the munitions industry in that country and by the cutting off of overseas supplies.

The railway workers in older and richer countries allowed their services to collapse after a much shorter period of strain than Canada's, with the result that their ports were blockaded and their industries strangled, throwing still further burdens upon the Canadian lines, while, on the other hand, the Canadian railway workers were able to maintain their service without breakdown, save for local and temporary situations due to unusually severe weather conditions.

In consequence, therefore, of the record established by Canadian railways, it is particularly appropriate to discuss railway problems with those men whose loyalty, self-sacrifice and efficiency has made Canada's great transportation record possible.

As one who till recently was by profession a lawyer, I instinctively read your constitution and platform before coming to address you this evening. It was, therefore, of especial interest to me to find on the first page of your official prospectus the following sentence:

"The people have just begun to learn what can be accomplished by legislation. A few men decide that the clock shall be set forward an hour. The next day it is law, and on the following day millions of people change the routine of their lives and live and adapt themselves to the new system. A small group of lawmakers decide to take a registration of the man and woman power of the Dominion. A new order is issued, and the lives of millions become an open book in the archives of the Government. It is desired to regulate the supply and distribution of coal—a matter of life and death. The lawmaker, again at work, regulates the amount of coal you may burn in your furnace.

"We have learned with startling suddenness the invincible power of the law. It has become increasingly clear that in the future in the fervid, feverish days of reconstruction that are soon to come, labor must be directly represented in the lawmaking bodies of the Dominion if the working classes are to secure the kind of legislation that will protect their interests."

The first article in your Constitution expresses your ambitions:

"The object and aim of this Association shall be to bring about, by direct political action, the election to office of the greatest possible number of the country's workmen (those who toil by hand or brain) as will secure the fullest individual liberty and the most widely diffused equality of opportunity in all that concerns the lives of our citizens, with the ultimate aim of the attainment of real democracy in Government industry."

If the political result of your Association, which at present consists almost entirely of railway workers, is to bring into Parliament more railway men, I wish you all success in your efforts. Such an achievement would be of immense benefit to the people of Canada. You have a shining example in the case of my friend and fellow-speaker to-night, a railway man who by his ability has won a distinguished place in the Government of Canada, the Honourable Gideon Robertson. I wish we had more men like him in Parliament to-day.

Senator Robertson is an example of the modern labor man, sane, safe, insistent in labor's cause, but not swept off his feet by every passing breeze. I trust that he will fill the position he holds with satisfaction to the labor men, as well as to the citizens of Canada as a whole.

In view of the important part that the railway industry plays in the economics of Canada, there are far too few railway men at Ottawa, with the result that legislation affecting railway men is too often voted and decided upon by majorities which are not sufficiently acquainted with the facts.

A few weeks ago, when I was on a trip West, I learned that the conductor on the train was a member of the House of Commons for Nipissing, Conductor Harrison. I had a long chat with him. He was not a politician, using that much abused term in its popular sense, but a straightforward, clean representative of the people, whose record with the company was such as to warrant the conviction that he would be a credit to the House. He was a new mem-

PYORRHOEA ALVEOLARIS, (Riggs' Disease).

This disagreeable affection was for many years the *bête noire* of dentistry. It is a disease of the membrane and structure surrounding the roots of teeth; it is characterized by a discharge of pus from the free margin of the gum and is due to long continued irritating influences. Pockets form under the gum along the side of the root owing to the destruction of the vital membrane and the alveolar process, or supporting structure, due to the action of pus. The teeth become loosened, elongated and disarranged, so that frequently teeth that are themselves structurally perfectly sound in all respects are caused to fall out and be lost.

Pyorrhoea is frequently the cause of stomach and bowel disorders owing to constant swallowing or pus germs; indeed, many are treating for systematic disorders which would be eliminated by treatment of the Pyorrhoea. Don't inflict this disease upon yourself, nor its disagreeable features upon your friends. A few minutes talk with the New York Dental Co., Ltd., 288 St. Catherine Street West, Montreal, will convince you that you need suffer no longer. You can't do a good thing too soon.

ber, but the sincerity and seriousness of his attitude toward public questions convinced me that the railway men were fortunate in having a man of his calibre chosen from among them to take part in the deliberations of Parliament.

One has only to read your published platform to realize that the entry of railway workers as a political force would be of immense value to Canadian political life—for what is the first plank of your platform? Let me read it word for word from your prospectus:

"We pledge ourselves to support all educational plans and objects, municipal, provincial and dominion, where the evident purpose is to advance the standard of education on a par with the most enlightened and progressive educational systems in force in any part of the world."

A political association of working men which embraces as its first reform

the general advancement of the education of the people is certainly something new in Canadian politics, and deserves the warmest welcome.

Railway Men in Parliament

Among the questions which may possibly come before Parliament is one which vitally affects the welfare of many of you who are present to-night.

I said that there would be questions arising in the near future in which you have a peculiar interest. There is one question that I have in mind. It may not be too imminent, but may have to be discussed and decided in a few months, and if it is to be decided it is of the utmost importance that railway men should be properly represented in the councils of parliament in order that their views be sufficiently heard before these policies are decided on. Otherwise the decision may be reached without your case being stated. I refer to the question of nationalization of railways. That question, when it is decided, will be decided by the representatives of the people at Ottawa, but only after the desire of the people as a whole is expressed. In the last analysis it will be expressed through the members of the House of Commons and the Senate, but it will obviously be determined in accordance with the wishes of the majority of the people of Canada.

Representatives of railway workers in the House of Commons will be of the greatest assistance as expressing the voice of railway employees, and without that representation your voice may not be sufficiently heard. Those of you who are employees of the Canadian Pacific and Grand Trunk may, by a vote of parliament, become overnight employees of the Government, without your case being officially stated. A great deal has been spoken and written on this very vital subject, much of it, unfortunately, by those who have an inadequate knowledge, or a wrong conception, of the problem. A great many theories are propounded by earnest-minded, sincere men, publicists, and others honestly believe that the nationalization of all Canadian railways would be an advantage to Canada; and whether it will be to the advantage of Canada is the only aspect from which

the subject should be approached. In order to decide it, however, we must rid ourselves of any misconception as to what it means. If you were buying a piece of land for farming purposes you would ascertain what is the value of the land you seek to acquire, and whether the possible results of your working it would justify the acquisition. You would first, of course, have to decide whether or not you wanted to be a farmer. The Canadian people must decide whether they want to be railway owners and operators, and if so, what it will cost to acquire the railways, and what will be the results of their administration of them when acquired. The systems involved are huge, and the number of employees affected is, I think, the largest, with one exception, of any single Canadian industry.

Duties of State

Now the misconception that I speak of, which I think exists, exists in the minds of those men who believe in public ownership of railways, is two-fold. It is first a misconception of the functions of the State, which is to regulate industrial enterprises, not manage them. It may be said that ownership may exist and yet that independent management may be secured through the medium of independent directorates. The difficulty which confronts us here is that it is almost impossible to divorce responsibility for management from the Government which has the financial responsibility. It is difficult for the man who pays the bill to keep from interfering with the administration of his own property. This means, in the case of Government, political interference, and that is full of danger. The second misconception is that these advocates have an idea that the systems could be acquired upon terms which, in some way, would be advantageous to the buyers. In other words, that because the purchasers are the people, something less than the value of the properties would be paid. Fundamentally this is wrong. We have a right to assume that the Government in acquiring property would acquire it on the same basis as an individual, and that they would pay what the property is worth. If they pay what the properties are worth they would pay or become liable for more than a

billion and a half property, and would they have reasonable assurance of their ability to administer them when acquired in such a way that the results will be satisfactory? The crux of the whole thing lies in this, namely, the ability of Governments to carry on enterprises such as these with the same competency and efficiency as can private owners. I am not attempting to persuade you to my views—they are not unalterable, but I am not convinced of the expediency nor wisdom of any such policy, because none of the advocates have been able to show ground for the faith that is in them. Before we change from the system which we understand, and which, in the case of some companies at least, has worked to the distinct advantage of Canada, we should be very sure that an improvement will be made, and the results to the people, the owners, such as to warrant the extraordinary obligations they would assume. It would be a pity to change from a system we know of to a system that we know very little about.

I have said to you that my views may not be considered unprejudiced, owing to my long association with one company, which, after thirty years, has developed slowly to a point of efficiency and successful operation, and whose success and efficiency are in a large part due to men whose enterprise, resourcefulness, and loyalty could not have been stimulated in any civil service. I realize fully the extent to which the success of the Canadian Pacific has been due to the loyalty of the officers and men in it, and I have never seen quite the same spirit in any institution in which individual initiative was not fostered, or in which political pull or influence was substituted for efficiency. There seems to be something clamping, and inducing indifference which results from the knowledge that a man is working for the Government. It may be the fault of our system, but it is a fact that Government service has not hitherto been as attractive to the wide-awake, progressive men of the country as it has been in some of the older lands across the sea, and, even with the advantages enjoyed in other countries, I am not aware of any single instance in which it can be said that the operation of huge industrial enterprises by the Government has, under normal conditions, been an unqualified success.

Question for all Canada

I have mentioned this subject, not with the idea of giving you a series of arguments for and against nationalization of railways—I am intending rather to point out to you the magnitude and the importance of the problem of Canada, and the necessity for your workers, who have such a tremendous stake in the result, being properly represented in the councils where these policies will be prepared. Next to the war itself, it is probably the most vital problem to Canada. It cannot and should not be decided by the views of extremists on either side. It cannot be determined in accordance with the wishes or interests of financiers, stockholders, politicians, or of any one set of them. It must be determined upon the one ground, namely, balancing its advantages with its disadvantages, which is in the best interest of Canada. There will be, I am convinced, no question of confiscation involved, because no one will, I think, seriously suggest that anyone's property should be taken without adequate compensation.

It is purely a question of what is the wise and prudent thing to do, and in order to reach that decision the most careful consideration and analysis of the results here and in other countries is necessary. When I can only say to you that these problems deserve the gravest consideration, I can, I think, approach with greater certainty the question of what we should do at the moment.

This much may, it seems to me, be said with confidence now, namely, that we do not know enough that is encouraging about Government operation of large railway systems to justify any further excursions into that field at this time. To argue from the experience of old countries where civil service obtains a much better share of the ambitious young men than in Canada, or to argue from the alleged success of comparatively local affairs, or Government organizations dominated by exceptional personalities, is unfair—not to the railways, but to the country which has so much at stake in this issue. We can well afford to wait, to study dispassionately our own situation and the experiment of the United States before committing our country to serious changes in policy. The solution finally adopted in the United

States will be of inestimable value to Canada. Meantime, too, the experience which Canada will now have of the present newly organized Government system will demonstrate many things. It will indicate very largely the general nature of the results we may hope to secure from an extension of the system.

Need for Caution

Now you have a railway sign, and on it is, "Stop, Look and Listen." You have also heard the expressions, "Wait and See," and "Watch and Pray." You have been warned not to "Marry in haste and repent at leisure." All through your lives you have been met with the necessity for caution when you are approaching the unknown. There are times when prudence must prevail, and one of those times is when communities are facing a problem of great vital national importance, but filled with doubt.

For the moment, therefore, I think we can say with absolute certainty that until we know more about Government operation in Canada and the United States, we should not embark upon permanent policies, because to do so without the advantage of this information—information available in due time—in fact, without the knowledge essential to the determination of the problem, would be to my mind the height of folly.

In the education of your members for political discussion, the study of economics must naturally play a large part. I see in the list of books recommended for your perusal in the *Canadian Railroader*, the works of such men as Adam Smith, Ricardo, Henry George and others—a very representative collection. A knowledge of the great writers on economics is of great value to those who wish to discuss intelligently the economic problems of to-day.

It is not my intention to speak to you on economics, but there is one economic fact in connection with the nationalization of railways, and that is the proportion of the obligations which would fall upon you as railway employees, who form so large a portion of the industrial population of Canada. In the event of the Government taking over the railways, large sums of money would be required. If the money did not have to be raised the obligations would be there

just the same, and with the large number of railway employees compared with workers in other industries, the proportion of the obligation falling upon them would be relatively great.

Harmony Prevails

I am very glad to say that the relations between the managements of the Canadian railways and the employees were never so harmonious as they are to-day. I see no reason why they should not continue.

It was my privilege to have something to do in the last stages of the formation of what is known as the "Railway Board of Adjustment No 1," in the formation of which, as you know, my friend the present Minister of Labor took such a prominent part. The vice-presidents of your orders were there; the executives of the railways were there also, and for the best part of a day we discussed the essential clauses of the agreement which brought the Railway Board of Adjustment No. 1 into existence.

I did not know the vice-presidents of your orders as well as most railway executives. I had met some of them years ago, but I want to say to you now that if the attitude of Labor and of the railway officers in all cases was that as was then shown by Messrs. Kennedy, Berry, Murdock, Wark, Turnbull and Mein, and the other labor leaders, and which attitude has constantly, I am advised, been continued, there would be little possibility of difficulties arising which were not capable of amicable adjustment. I considered—and lawyer-like I was doing a good deal of the talking myself—that I had rarely met men who took a more broadminded, fair and temperate view of the situation than did these men who on that occasion represented the unions. They were men of breadth and outstanding ability. They were sincerely patriotic, and obviously desirous that this machinery, which would prevent disturbances, should be put in motion in a way which would be fair to themselves, the members of their unions, and to the railway companies.

The spirit which actuated the railway executives and the representatives of the men on that day, is the spirit which we must bring to bear in the solution of many of these after-the-war problems. The interests of the managements and

the employees are identical. The railways have placed upon them a very great responsibility at this time of reconstruction, demobilization and development. They are the arteries of commerce, of industry, and agriculture, and much cessation or sluggishness in the circulation might be almost disastrous to our economic independence. But there will be changes, and if there is one thing more than another that I wish you to take away with you to-night for serious consideration that is the fact that in these changes, which are the natural consequence of the violent dislocation of all industry, due to the war, no one interest must be allowed to prevail, and in the transition in order to get back to normal, you men can do your part to readjust yourselves to the altered conditions in the spirit of consideration and fairness—the essentiality of which this war has made very apparent.

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN: Our next speaker is one we will all welcome, with the heartiest sympathy and pleasure, he is particularly welcome to all labor unionist, a type of man the labor movement of the Mother Land is bringing to the surface, who are so positively making their influence felt in the Old Land. They will have a great influence in shaping the destinies of the new order. The Labor Party today in England, constitutes the dominant opposition, in the mother of parliaments, and I am sure after we have heard Mr. Wright, we will not be surprised that such is the destiny, of British politics, under the leadership of the able men the Labor Party of Great Britain has produced, we may feel every confidence, and assurance, that the political destinies of the nation, and the empire, are in no peril, and will continue that progressive movement, that has kept the Motherland, in the vanguard of national, and international development. I have much pleasure in introducing Mr. Wright.

MR. PETER WRIGHT: It is a treat for me to-night to listen to the very interesting remarks made by the two gentlemen who have spoken and I would like to say at the outset I am highly delighted to have the privilege of speaking to the railwaymen. I have been in close touch with the railwaymen for the last twenty-

five years and one of my most intimate pals in town is Jimmy Thomas. I am keenly interested in him and in the men because they are to-day in Great Britain the best type of men in the labor movement, due to one or two factors. They are the only class that are subject to systematic rule in the way of discipline and so on and that has produced certain educational results which I have never seen outside of railwaymen. Of course, there are difficulties sometimes. Your Minister of Labor told you not to take any heed of the Bolshies. Well, I just want to give you an illustration of what occurred three months ago in Great Britain, and that is likely to occur here unless the workmen of Canada are on their guard. You know the railwaymen in Great Britain, prior to the war,—I think Mr. Beatty will support me in this—were the worts paid men amongst the workmen, and during the war they have been treated and placed into what I would term abnormal conditions. Three months ago, an executive elected by the men led by Jim Thomas, came to a common agreement, with the railway executive which was accepted by everyone. It was submitted during a week-end before every railway centre to the men for their adoption or their rejection and was practically accepted everywhere, except in that particular part where I am living, which is a hot bed for the Bolshies. Now what did they do? This particular Sunday night they held a meeting—and I want you to remember this that wherever these chaps are prominent they generally hold the chairmanship of the branch, and you will find that the secretary is also of that calibre, also the treasurer and all the moving lights in that particular branch are men of that particular philosophy. They held a meeting, all the men were summoned, and you know the majority of them were comfortably sitting by their firesides smoking their pipe and they did not want to go out to this meeting. But the Bolshies turned out, everyone of them and what did they do? They held a meeting on the quiet stating that at twelve o'clock they would go out, and at five o'clock in the morning all the Bolshies were at the corners waiting for the men to go to the railway shops,

men going to the local shops, platelayers going to the lines. "Don't go down, we have orders from headquarters to down tools". And right down the line to Newport, where I am living, the whole line was held up. I sent a wire to Jim, he left Paddintgon at 10.40 came down to Newport, at two o'clock they were all there waiting at the station for him. And you know the Bolshies had made up between them that they would not hear him. They would not give him, Jim Thomas, a hearing, and the leading lights in that whole affair were those Bolshies. The majority of the rank and file did not want to go against them and they had their way. Jim went to Cardiff, held a big meeting because the Cardiff men would not go out. They said: "We have placed our confidence in the executive, they agreed and we assume they did the best they could for us. What's the use if we don't abide by their agreement. If we don't approve of the executive replace them at the end of the war". Jim Thomas resigned and said: "What's the use of my being your leader. I do the best I can with my executive before the Railway Executive, who are business men, and yet a few of these men can upset the whole apple-cart". Of course they did not stick it long, because these Bolshies are the biggest cowards on the face of God's earth. I do not agree with my friend to take no heed of them, because they work like hell in season and out of season. They don't lay quiet mind, they don't follow out the eight hour movement. They will work 24 hours. The Government said frankly "If you select men to represent you and they as business men meet us and we come to an agreement you must abide by it, otherwise business is impossible. Twenty-four hours after our military boys came down from London and they told me at the station that they were determined to see that our men in the trenches were not going to be cut up by those hounds who laid down their tools and within twenty-four hours they sneaked back like curs to their work and started. But they are only a few, the heart of the workingmen throughout the whole Empire is sound and I make that statement because they have proved during the last four years by

their work, by their energy, by their support, that they are deserving of every credit that we can give them. Now that is recognition and I don't want you to wait and see as Mr. Beatty suggested, but I want you to lay hold of the opportunities that this war has presented to you and nothing but the war could have ever created what is in existence at the present time. Twenty years ago we had a big mine strike. Mabyn begged of me to go to various parts of the kingdom with a choir to collect money for the sake of feeding the women and children of the miners. The whole of South Wales was shut up. And then Mabyn came to me and said: "Will you go to London, and try and get an interview with the President of the Board of Trade, with a view of persuading the Government to use their power to have compulsory arbitration. I will remember going to London. When I went to that permanent department, I thought I was in Constantinople, trying to get into a harem. I sat there for a week and you ought to have seen some of those I met up and down. It did not come off. There was not a man in the House of Commons amongst the ministers who would interfere. They said "It is a fight between you and you must fight it out the best way you can". A little time after I met another great man, called Lord Hamilton. I dare say you know him. I know him, I will never forget him. There was no alternative then. I used to meet shipowners and I tell you it was a warm time. They would not meet us at any price at first. I remember Havelock Wilson, and he is not a bad chap. I told a shipowner one day "Look here, you meet Havelock Wilson to-morrow and all disputes will be settled." "Oh," he said, "I could not, on no account, absolutely out of the question, impossible". Well now during the last five years there has been brought about a remarkable change, and it is due to the fact that there has been an atmosphere created in which the employer or the capitalist, call him whatever you like, can see things in a light that he has never seen before. Very largely due to ignorance on our part and on his part, there was a misunderstanding. I will give you an instance. I was at Givenchy and crawl-

ing on my knees up through the mud and came across a platoon in the front line. There was a young officer who had received a big box and he has handing out the contents and sharing them amongst those men. I said to a lance corporal, "who is the man" and he said "He is the son of a lord, and there is not a man in this territory who would not die for him. We love him, just love him." A working man loving him a lord—you cannot conceive of it before the war. And I had a chat with the young lieutenant. My god, he loved everyone of those boys in the trenches. He told me before that he was in Cambridge. He would look down on you and I was a lump of dirt. To-day that is changed in its entirety. I am speaking as one of the Seamen's organization leaders. We have fought more than any other organization in the kingdom, fought till we are sick and tired of it, fought for twenty-five years and we never had copper, always in the bankrupt court, spending all our munitions in fighting, but we are going to adopt a different attitude in future. As a result of this war with proper leadership, judgment and prudence, we will be able, I believe, to improve our men on the sea in a manner that was inconceivable five years ago. As a result of this war in every seaport in the United Kingdom, we have two of our men and two of the local shipowners, who form a board, and any matter in dispute is brought before them. They have an independent chairman agreed upon by both sides. Any matter that they cannot deal with is submitted to the Maritime Board in London, of which I am a member, at the head of which is an independent man appointed by the Government and they deal with it. I believe that there is sound judgment and business capacity on both sides, and there is a new era confronting us so far as the seamen are concerned. I would like that applied to the whole of the industrial empire and I will tell you why. We have been fighting and have lost the flower of our manhood. We have spent practically all our treasures. We have been living during the last five years upon credit in an artificial atmosphere. We are up to our eyes in debt in Great Britain. We have got to get 400,000,000 pounds

every year to meet our interest. Of course the Bolshies say wipe it out, but you know there are too many men who have invested in the war loans in Great Britain and they will see that the Bolshies are not going to wipe it out. I am not going to talk to you about economics. Of course, there is another side to the nationalization of railways. I quite appreciate the views taken by Mr. Beatty, but all I am asking you and the employers to use is common sense. That is the only thing that we are in need of at the moment. Common sense. If after this war, when we have been united, consolidated, fighting with one effort and aim in life, if we have to pass through an industrial war all the most violent tempers will be exhibited if we cannot obtain what we desire with common sense. I agree with Mr. Beatty. While I have been a strong supporter of railway nationalization for the last twenty-five years, I have seen a bit during this war by coming in contact with prominent officials and politicians and my God I have learned a lesson. I don't know what your complaints are here, and I assume you have got complaint at least I have, whatever they are now if you nationalize your railways with the officialdom that is in existence to-day, the Lord help you and have mercy upon you. I had a chat with Havelock Wilson the other day, and he said: "One of our men, called Johnson, a very aggressive chap, a splendid fellow, mind, honest man, has every year put on the agenda for our annual meeting the nationalization of shipping. What are we going to do with this infernal thing?" I said "Submit it". And he said, "Look here Peter, you know all about how things have been going on. Would you accept all the ships if they were handed over to you?" I said "No, first of all with our officials we have not got the training to run them successfully. Secondly, if they are handed over to the Government the people who are running them now would not work for them at any price and thirdly, if they were run by the admiralty or the Board of Trade well then God help the workers". I believe in the principle, but not until you remove the greater bulk of the politicians and get business men into your House of Parliament who have the

courage to shift some of the ginks who have been put there for life for centuries and their offspring for another two centuries to come are likely to be there. Well, anyway, that does not matter to you, I am merely giving you my personal experience and I will support that by evidence. I remember not long ago I had to meet a Cabinet Minister and they wanted me to submit to naval discipline in the mercantile marine. Mr. Arthur Balfour said to me: "We must have naval discipline, because some of our chaps have a knack of getting tight and losing the tide". "Is that all your difficulty"? I said. "I will easily remove that. You shut up all the publics around the dock and that difficulty will be gotten over. As long as you will insist in allowing these incubators to remain there don't hold me responsible. It is very hard lines when a man goes to sea he is shut up in the dark on account of the submarines, no light, does not know the moment he is going to be hurled into eternity. He can't get a pint of beer at sea and when he goes ashore he likes to have a wet. A certain Cabinet Minister threatened me with arrest under the defence of the Realm Act. I told him if he did he would be glad to let me out in a hurry. The point I want to come to is this, that we are the only organization in the United Kingdom that has had no bother, due to the fact that we did not allow our organization to be handled by the Government. We have settled all our grievances direct with the shipowners and they have met me every time. I tell you I have a better opinion of these shipowners now. I understand them. I did not understand them before, we never used to meet, I went out with the express purpose of having a fight. It is different to-day because we go direct to the people who are practical men who understand our grievances. If you come before a permanent department it is the last hope. But I am not going to interfere with your business. I do hope that Canada in future, that you as working men, will keep closer to us than ever you have done before—there is an affinity between you and I which is stronger to-day than ever it has been in the past, because we understand one another, and I believe by close co-operation, by

prudence and judgment, by co-operating with Great Britain, Australia, Africa and Canada, there is a great future in store for labor. While I do not agree at the moment on account of conditions, in nationalization, I want to suggest to my friend Mr. Beatty, that the worker must have a greater share in the control, and that can be done. Why should not the working man if he is an employee be represented on that board as well as the shareholders? He is not to-day, but I believe that is the only possible solution to have the workers themselves represented on the board of any concern, whatever it may be. I feel that there are men amongst the workers to-day who would do credit to that particular position from what I have seen. Take a man like Clynes. I want to pay this tribute to Clynes. I remember Lord Rhondda called on me one day and told me he wanted to see me. He said all our ships are going down. We want all the ships we can get to bring across the American troops, and we can't get meat. The population is already reduced down to the lowest possible minimum ration. What can you do? Are you willing to take a reduction in the meat allowance for seamen? I told him yes of half a pound. That meant 75,000 pounds of meat less for the seamen, but not a man kicked against that. But while I spoke to him he said: "You see that little man, Clynes. He is a wonderful man. I am getting all the credit for the work that that little chap is doing". Just fancy Lord Rhondda paying a striking tribute like that to a man like Clynes. Take your own Minister of Labor, who is a sound man, who has hidden potentialities and unknown qualities if they only get the opportunity to bring them out. I believe the introduction of labor representatives on any railway board would be the means of placing the point of view of the men before the directors and you would educate the working men in the intricacies and difficulties with which the ordinary rank and file is not acquainted at the present moment. On these lines, I hope we will be able to remove the difficulties in future with which we have been concerned in the past.

I don't think it is wise that we as working men should accept a reduc-

tion in wages, because I believe by men paying greater interest to their work and producing probably a greater output they will be able without bringing any loss to the nation to retain the wage which they hold at present. At any rate that is our view in the United Kingdom. I don't know the economic conditions prevailing here but I do feel that with a wonderful country like Canada there are great possibilities in store. I am greatly struck with the possibilities in this nation and I believe that if you would only co-operate, use the brains that you have, use your franchise, use your power and your brain as citizens you could make Canada one of the finest nations under the canopy of Heaven, because you have such wonderful opportunities of making headway which do not exist in Great Britain at the present moment.

I ask you to co-operate closer than you ever have done in the past and to get together for a better system of education. I am very much disappointed since I have been in Canada to find that sufficient attention is not being paid to the need of educating the child. You cannot blame the public men because after all they are the reflex of public opinion. As a well known writer said "the hope of the earth is the spring, so the hope of the race is the child". You may do what you like, you may improve your hours, increase your wages, do all sorts of things, but what you are in need of is a better inculcation of knowledge. At the present time, the system of education in your schools is paying too much time and attention as to how children should behave in the life hereafter and not sufficient time devoted to their studies as citizens while they are here. Secondly, the curriculum that you have is wholly and solely employed for the purpose of making them profit making machines, to create surplus value, cramming them. I want you to pay more attention to children's education and to see that in every infant in school every child is taught by the best men and women that you can lay hold of. If you invest that child with a good sound foundation then you will have a good citizen in the future.

I want you to see that equality of opportunity is secured by every child.

That does not exist in Canada. It is the duty of the nation and the duty of the citizens to see that every opportunity is opened up. There are thousands of people that never had a chance or an opportunity which is a distinct loss to the nation. You cannot afford that. Therefore whatever you do, and I say that having been an agitator for thirty years, I have said in season and out of season that it is absolutely futile, do what you like, unless you start with the child and educate that child you will never bring about that system of society, which, you and I aspire to at this moment. Pay attention to that.

There are many things that you can do, and I know the possibilities. I have to-day 40,000 children under my charge. I am also on the court of governors of the university. I know the value and know what can be done for the child of the workers. You are too slack, you want shaking up. I want you to pay attention to that because the wealth of the nation cannot be measured by mere pounds, shillings and pence it is only the child, the men and women of the future, who are the greatest assets to any nation. Unless you educate the worker you will always have trouble in future. It is lack of knowledge, the lack of understanding, the impossibility of it unless you give them the conception of greater things. I have gone through the rules and recommendations of your society, and I tell you there is something above materialistic in the whole scheme. I have always felt, although I never go to church or chapel, so don't misunderstand me, that the human problem is a spiritual problem. It is a big problem. I am always down on the Bolshies because they say you kill all the capitalists and share it all out, and then when you have spent it all, share it out again. That is their philosophy you know, have as many wives you like—I have quite enough with one—that is their idea. I have always said you can never make men what they ought to be by act of Parliament. The curse of all things to-day is selfishness. You have got to root that out and remove it. Selfishness on both sides that can only be removed by the recognition in the heart and mind of every man that he is here for a purpose, that he is here reaping the

advantages gained by his forefathers century after century, and that he has a duty to perform, and that is to educate himself, mind, body and soul so that destiny may reap the advantage of those who come after him. Therefore your organization, starting a newspaper, will be able to bring about an education which is badly needed. Our newspapers to-day give us one sided news. Editors cannot do as they like. They are controlled by a Board which is very often interested in certain things and they have got to act in accordance with that Board. I hope you will make that organ a useful paper for the purpose of preaching the right propaganda and enlightening men of the possibilities within their own political franchise to-day of creating a new era and a new epoch. I hope and wish you all success, asking you to co-operate with us, to unite with us and to be very careful just now while we are passing through one of the most dangerous periods, that of transition. If we keep our heads for the next twelve months I believe the whole world will receive a wave of prosperity such as was never known before in history. That is my own view. It is the view of the sane cool-headed business man and labor man. If we keep that in view, keep the Bolshies down, keep an eye on them, support the men that are deserving of support like your Minister of Labor, who has a tremendous task, and he is only a human being, and can only become great and do mighty things as long as you will give him your support, because that is the only thing he can rely on and that is the only support he has to stand behind him—do this and you will be all right. I wish you all good luck and prosperity and I am sure great success will be in store for you in Canada and right throughout this continent.

The Chairman :—Before calling on our members to move the vote of thanks I wish to personally thank Mr. Beatty, Senator Robertson and Mr. Wright for coming to speak to us to-night. I am sure we have all enjoyed very much what we have heard. I also want to remind you of the application for membership cards which were delivered to you when you came in. I would like you to fill those out as many as possible

and mail them to our office. We can only carry on this work if you support us. It is a work I believe that has a great future and great possibilities, to go out and try to improve society, and work out a better social order to make this a better happier and freer country to live in. I am going to call on two of our members, a C. P. R. engineer and a G. T. R. conductor to move the vote of thanks.

Mr. Sam Dale:—From the reception given the speakers this evening and the attention which they received I believe I am perfectly justified in saying we have spent not only a very interesting but a very profitable evening together. Standing as each one does so high in public estimation, occupying as they do positions of responsibility, their remarks naturally carry weight and to those gentlemen who have given us of their time and have enabled us to spend such an interesting and instructive evening I as a member of the Fifth Sunday Meeting Association have great pleasure in moving a hearty move of thanks to each of them.

Mr. Sam. Pugh:—It gives me very great pleasure as a representative of the Grand Trunk to second the proposition. I was thinking while Mr. Robertson was handing out the great eulogy of the President of the C. P. R. as being the greatest corporation in the world, that I as a Grand Trunk man could boast like two of my boys. One of them grew faster than the other, and the little fellow used to say I am bigger than you and the second youngster said I am older than you. We wish you every success in holding the premier position which the Grand Trunk held till you wrestled it from us. It is very fitting that a Grand Trunk representative should second this motion and I do it most heartily and sincerely without any tinge of regret, without doing any advertising, the Grand Trunk is still at the same old stand doing the same old business. If you doubt my words follow me for 31 years. We are alongside of the C. P. R. for a number of miles and we have friendly rivalry and if the President was not here I would not mind telling you how a race comes out sometimes. But I will not go into details. I agree

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with the President of the C. P. R. and heartily endorse the remark that we have in our labor representative a man who is sane safe and serious. As a labor man, a trades unionist all my life I feel proud to be here to listen to the wise and weighty words that have fallen from the lips of the gentlemen holding the positions they do. I am sure we are not surprised when we have representatives like the gentlemen from the other side, Mr. Wright, that can sway audiences like he can, that they are doing something in the old country and they will do it well, and I will say, for the benefit of the men I am associated with and for Mr. Beatty and the other men from the top that I have always found that you can trust the working man, and just as Mr. Beatty has described it. I know most of those men thoroughly. They are well educated in the work, they have taken in hand. They were ordinary engineers, firemen, conductors and brakemen they have been schooled well and to-day the President and General Superintendent comes and sits down and it is not a matter of brow beating or sharpness of wits, but a matter of laying your proposition calmly and quietly on the table and it gets the very best consideration. In forty years experience the men have gotten nearly everything they asked for because they have only asked for that to which they have been entitled. You have said a new era is dawning. We have it right here now. We asked you to come here and have this splendid entertainment but there

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The motion was carried with acclamation, and the meeting terminated.

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RECONSTRUCTION

STUDIES OF ITS VARIED ASPECTS AND PHASES

NOTE.—“The Canadian Railroader” desires to express its thanks and appreciation to Mr. Chapman, Francis Hankin and all members of the Reconstruction Group for this valuable contribution to our magazine.

TO find means of allaying the present restlessness in industry is one of the gravest problems that face those concerning themselves with Reconstruction. In seeking for remedies, one should endeavor to understand the fundamental principles that should govern all efforts, not neglecting, however, the necessity of studying the causes that first brought these problems into being.

In this introductory chapter, therefore, I shall state these principles as many students see them, and I shall also give a general description of the scope of the chapters that follow.

It is a common place to say that everyone is either directly connected with or indirectly concerned in the conditions surrounding industry, and therefore that all must be affected in some degree by the nature of the policies developed to deal with the problems of Industrial Reconstruction.

Many depend directly upon Industry for the means by which they live, either by wages or salaries earned as a result of Labor, or by interest or economic rent arising from investment in Industry. The few who do not come into this large class are also much concerned with Industry which furnished them with the materials for their existence and their comfort. Stop entirely the wheels of industry for a few days only, and the results would be worse than those of the darkest days of the war.

Most of us are so immersed in the details of our daily occupations, in professional, industrial or family work, or in endeavors to alleviate or palliate the evident distress that present itself to our vision, that we are unable to detach ourselves from our multifarious duties in order to take an impersonal,

unprejudiced, and perspective view of the conditions of our own and of other lives, and particularly to take proper notice of the momentous changes that have taken and are taking place, so as to be able to foresee and if possible, by taking thought to guide the further changes that must occur before we pass out of this life.

How little do we appreciate at least the political and social changes of the last century—a matter of only three or four generations. For example, two boys aged ten and twelve years were sentenced to transportation for seven years at the Manchester Quarter Sessions, in 1813, for stealing linen from a warehouse. A boy of 14 was hung at Newport, in 1814, for stealing. Our training and environment, liberal compared with that of the period mentioned, leads us to regard such action, based on law, with little less than horror.

Our notions of liberty are also rapidly widening. We could not to-day approve of the action of the magistrates who sentenced seven women to jail merely for saying “Boo” to strike breakers, in South Wales, in 1871.

We must not, however, adopt too virtuous an attitude, lest, upon investigation, we find that we are ourselves tacitly countenancing similar injustices, or rather that they exist principally because we do not concern ourselves with the conditions of living forced upon others or because we do not take the trouble to question the justice of our laws and conditions of life.

Let me further emphasize the rapidity of change, in one lifetime, by stating briefly the experiences of Mr. Frede-

ric Harrison, the noted English writer, during his 87 years of life. He says :

I look back with amazement on the progress of civilization even within my own lifetime. At any birth in 1831, slave-holding was legal within the Dominions of the Crown in a Parliament of rotten boroughs Birmingham had no member, but Grampound had. Until 1834 there was no public grant for Education, and then it was only £20,000. Exclusive State Churches dominated in Ireland, Scotland, and England. Food was cruelly taxed by tariff. Labor was oppressed, for no Factories Acts existed. The savage laws of felony and death had only just been partly redressed. Transportation of convicts to the Colonies was in full course. Down to my time, about 50 to 60 criminals were hanged each year.

What a march of popular progress I have lived to witness: Reform in Parliament, in Education, in Free Trade, in Law, in Church. In these 87 years the change has been as great as in 700 years since Magna Charta.

When I was a schoolboy the only Republic was in America. Russia, it was thought, might overwhelm Europe. China and Japan were closed to Europeans, India was ruled by a trading company, and was constantly invaded by the Northern races. The United States had a total population of little more than 12 millions, one tenth of whom were slaves. Our Colonies were small primitive settlements, having constant difficulties with the colored aborigines.

It may be of interest to record in passing that Mr. Frederic Harrison rendered the Trade Unions valuable service at the time of the passing of the Trade Union Act of 1871.

Here is a picture of rapid change. In face of such an experience, such a record, it is not reasonable to look for changes of similar magnitude and importance in the coming years, particularly in view of the tremendous ferment through which we have just passed, and during which some students, with poetic extravagance, say that the experience of a hundred years has been packed into four.

We can all appreciate the magnitude of the material changes. They are self evident to the senses. We cannot ignore them if we would. They are thrust upon us from all sides—through our vision and our hearing: by means of conversation, illustrated press, and moving pictures.

We hear the rumblings of social and industrial discontent, but to appreciate its true value, its justice and its menace, we must construct a picture for the mind by investigation, study and appreciation. This, although more interesting and even more vital than a comprehension of material change, we ignore, because it cause for some personal effect, which to many is distasteful, and sometimes disturbing. We may continue to ignore it, but at much risk.

What changes, other than material, have occurred during the war? In the first place, the appreciation by the public of the actual aims and purposes of the war has completely altered. I may even say that the ends and purposes themselves have changed as the war progressed. When it burst upon the world—an astonished world in great part—in 1914, it was the opinion of the average person that it was a conflict between two groups of nations allied together in order to preserve the balance of power. It soon became evident, however, that the war was being waged between those who advocated Democratic principles on the one hand, and those adhering to Autocratic rule on the other hand. By reason, however, of the long duration of the war, the magnitude which it assumed, and the considerable interference which it effected in the lives of the citizens of all the belligerent nations, much thought has been given to, and even much criticism has been made of the old Democratic Social order itself. Of this new interest in thought, it has been written in the report of the British Committee of the Privy Council on Scientific and Industrial Research:

"It is not often in our history that the nation has found time to think. Now, by a curious paradox, while the flower of her youth and strength are fighting for her freedom and her life, the others have a chance of thinking out the best use to which that life and freedom can be put when they are safe once more. Indeed at the present time, activity is as marked in the field of ideas as it is in the field of war".

We must not however make the mistake of assuming that this activity in thought was confined to those who were not at the fighting front. It was indulged in by the soldiers in their bil-

lets and elsewhere during those times of tedious and monotonous routine which intervened between the exciting periods of fighting, and it must be remembered that these soldiers represent a mixture of all classes. What is the result of all this thought and criticism? It has become increasingly recognized that not only have we been seeking to destroy in our enemies those things in which we were opposed, but we have actually been helping one another to pull down the old social order which we have in common.

What is being destroyed throughout the world in different countries in different degrees, but in all countries to a considerable degree? Is it not the old relationship between the classes, the old ideas of the security and fixity of tenure privileges, occupations and customs: the old system of "laissez-faire" and the old ideas of individualism.

In order that I may not be accused of exaggerating the changes that are actually taking place, I would like to quote a statement of the Hon. George N. Barnes, Labor Member of the British Cabinet, showing the considerable interest, one might almost call it interference—which it is proposed that communities throughout the world shall exercise in individualistic enterprise:

He said: "What we want to see is some kind of industrial machinery that will set up and enforce a decent standard of life, not, of course, by any coercive measures, but by methods compelling manufacturers in all countries to toe the line.

"We ask, first of all, for freedom of combination in all countries. This is absolutely necessary if international law is to be enforced. You may pass any amount of industrial legislation, but if there is no organization capable of seeing that it is put in to operation it will be useless.

"Then we desire to see a minimum standard of hours and wages for all countries. I do not say it is to be identical for all countries because conditions differ. What I mean is that every worker in every country shall be guaranteed fair pay and fair conditions of work.

"There are other questions, such as child workers, employment of women after child birth, proper provision of ventilation and factory space, medical inspection, and abolition

of sweating. In a word, we desire to adopt the principle laid down by Gompers, that labor shall no longer be treated as a commodity, but shall be the first charge on production before rent, interest on capital, or profits.

"The peace conference will first be invited to agree to the proposal of an international standard for labor, and then it is proposed to refer the matter to an industrial commission to consider and report on the measures to be taken to secure this end.

"This commission would sit at the same time as the peace congress, and report to it. Then, it will be the duty of the congress to adopt these recommendations and possibly hand them over to a league of nations to put into operation as part of its duties."

Of course, a statement like this is moderate compared with some principles that I shall have occasion to deal with in the course of these chapters.

The great question to-day confronting those who are thoughtful, is what is to take the place of these old ideas and systems? The stability of the new principles will depend upon the amount of study given to the problems, and also upon the extent of the interest in this study throughout the nations concerned, and all are concerned, for the demand for a change comes from every quarter of the globe.

We have been told that the war has been fought for Democracy. Individually, we would not have supported it, had we not candidly and wholeheartedly believed this, and few shots would have been fired by the Democratic soldiers of the Allies and few munitions would have been made by the workpeople at home, had they not also thoroughly believed it. Now, many of these soldiers and workmen are asking how far the principles of Democracy are being applied to their own social and industrial life. The question is not new, but to-day, the interest is wider and the power of those who ask the question is stronger than it has been before. As a consequence, we hear of the spread—the rapid spread—of all kinds of ideas and principles, many of them visionary, many confused. How are we to deal with this spread of ideas, this propaganda as it is called? Suppress it violently? That is the way by which to propagate any idea, however unsound. It is proved

by all history. It is the view of a prominent figure of McGill University who writes:

"To some indeed, it may appear that even to 'hold parley with Red Radicals is as futile as 'to debate the political qualifications of the 'Turk. This view, we can submit, is erroneous. 'Autocracy having been knocked on the head, 'it remains to adjust the balance between 'liberalism and radicalism. Here is a problem 'so momentous that no thinking man or woman 'can be excused from the duty of analysing 'the Bolshevik proposition or from endeavouring to understand the strength and weakness 'of radical propaganda. Unless this matter is 'taken up seriously and exhaustively it may 'be hard to save the well-intentioned ignorant 'from false prophets. Never before has the 'social organism been so delicate. Never before 'has injury to one social stratum been so likely to bring misery to the other strata."

Shall we face fearlessly all new ideas, examine them, and the conditions producing them, candidly, with mental equipoise and calm, and see whether we cannot evolve sound, just, and workable principles which will satisfy reasonable demands, and which can be instituted by constitutional means? Surely that is the sensible way. But before we proceed to do this, we must properly understand the fundamental principles that should govern any change which we may put forward. What principles should we bear in mind in order to work for a staple Democracy based upon Justice. These may be stated to be:

(1) The fullest and fairest possible use of land and natural resources to satisfy the requirements of all.

(2) Adequate organization to effect an equitable distribution of raw material to industry in order to satisfy the demands for work and subsistence of the individual: efficient methods, and plant to obtain the greatest possible production.

(3) Means of ensuring the best mental and physical development of all units.

(4) The power of securing such a distribution of the products of the land and industry as will furnish a reasonable measure of subsistence, health, leisure and security.

(5) A truly democratic share in the control of all the interests of life by the

people engaged therein, whether political, industrial, professional, or other.

I think that we might sum up the psychological results of the war as the intention upon the part of the individuals of all nations to see that the principles of Democracy shall be applied fully to their social and industrial life as well as to their political life, and that this desire can only be met soundly by a close study of the conditions of industry and by the evolution of policies based upon a proper regard for human rights.

I have dealt with the principles which have become evident or emphasized by the war. Have there arisen any new methods or new manners of operating the human machine? War has always been a matter for co-operation, and wherever this has not been complete, success has been jeopardized. It was only after a unity in command was instituted that the Allies marched continuously to Victory.

During the greater part of the last century, competition, termed by one writer "the nineteenth substitute for honesty", and the pressure of supposedly immutable economic laws have governed industry. Both these principles were abrogated during the war, and strange to say, not failure, but success crowned their elimination.

Three broad developments have become evident during the war. In the first place, it has become recognized that the workers, whether by hand or with brain, are a body of the greatest importance in the social structure, and that if they closely co-operate, they will wield enormous power. In many directions it is evident that they recognize the importance of co-operation amongst themselves although there are many difficulties in the way. Employers also are equally cognizant of its value. And the second principle that has become emphasized by the war is that the State owes a greater duty to the individual and to groups of individuals than was thought to be the case before, and conversely that the individual owes a greater duty to the State. It is also clearly seen that there attaches to each individual State, a responsibility for the maintenance of international good-will and order, so that if, in the future, any nation should

adopt an attitude of splendid isolation, it will be regarded as committing a sin against international morals. Here is another evidence of the necessity for co-operation.

Again, I would like to sum up the large principles to which the war has given prominence. There is a widespread intention that Government and Industry shall be based upon a mutual recognition of human rights coincident and consistent with a sound progressiveness that will guarantee Democracy against all threats to its existence; and the methods of operation in future, politically, socially and industrially, will be rather in the direction of co-operation — the principle of peace — than of competition—the principle of war.

A further development, fraught with some danger, is that the peoples of the world have been accustomed to see large things done quickly—a necessity in war, and they may demand the same rapidity of action in Peace. This, with the proper check—an intelligent and widespread interest—may work for good, but without such a check, the result may easily be a fervent and chaotic development resulting in ruin and reaction.

Such a possibility emphasizes the necessity for a study of industrial history, both by employers and workmen. Large Utopian ideals have been placed before the workers early in the last century, with a promise of their early attainment which has never been achieved. Witness the Grand National Consolidated Trades Union organized by Robert Owen in 1834, which was to have brought to its feet, Government, landlords and employees. He habitually spoke as if the next six months would see really established "The New Moral World". The change was to come suddenly upon society like a thief in the night. One of his disciples wrote: "One year may disorganize the whole fabric of the old world, and transfer, by a sudden spring, the whole political government of the country from the master to the servant". History repeats itself. Large aims with suggestions for their attainment by overhasty actions are being put forward to-day in various quarters.

A student of history, with every desire to change conditions, is struck by the fact that most permanent benefits have come constitutionally.

At the same time, there is a great danger today that the increased power that the worker possesses, and the training in arms that he has been given during the last four years, may result in demands too big for their early achievement, and in an effort to secure them by force. The condition will be aggravated should the employers not be prepared to grant a large measure of the reasonable demands. Of the possibilities, our student, Mr. George Russell, writes as follows:

"I think the menace of the Peace before us is greater than the menace of the unconcluded war. I have forebodings that the condition of labour a few years after peace is declared, will be worse than they have been for nigh a century. I cannot reason it out, but my intuitions are to the effect that conditions will soon be ripe for social revolution, and personally, I would be more concerned about the education of the leaders of the social revolution than the education of the present capitalists of industry."

I have spent much time in sketching a broad picture of conditions and general principles. I have done so because I am a firm believer in the necessity of first understanding the fundamentals of any problems that may come before us whether large or small before embarking upon action.

This leads me to make a general statement as to the ultimate aims of labour. The workers seek, according to certain spokesmen a fundamental change in ownership and control of the means of production, with the resultant elimination of the capitalist. Briefly, there are three ways by which they expect ultimately to do this. The first, the Collectivist method, is by nationalising all industries that are capable of being nationalized. The second, the Syndicalist method, is by the ownership and control of the means of production purely by the workers. The third way, that of the National Guildsmen, is that the Nation shall own the means of production through its Parliament, but that the Industries shall be operated through the National

Guilds. I will deal with these fully in subsequent chapters.

The means by which these ends shall be secured are two, either by Constitutional or Parliamentary action, or by direct action through the general strike.

Precedent in law, and experience in individuals are supposed to be good guides for present and future conduct. Therefore before outlining the various industrial principles which are being advocated and accepted in varying degree throughout the world, I propose to sketch on one chapter a picture of the conditions which primarily were the reason for the development of these principles—at least for Great Britain and the British speaking peoples. In my next chapter, I propose to deal with the Industrial Revolution which covers the period from 1760 to 1832. It is a picture full of pathos and human interest. It rouses one to anger with one's precursors until one realizes that similar feelings may prevail in succeeding generations at our toleration of injustice which are rife at present. I shall sketch briefly the independent or at least the semi-independent conditions under which the craftsman worked at a time when he owned the means of production, operating them in his own home, often it is true, with the assistance of his children, who, however, were under his rule and care. Later they had to submit to the brutal discipline of the factory. At this period too, the apprentices and journeymen were always limited, and most were able to rise to the ranks of the craftsman. He truly, had the marshal's baton in his knapsack. The batons are fewer today.

I shall then deal with the effects of the rise of capitalism or the concentration of the means of production into few hands, and the important and overwhelming effect of the introduction of machinery which called forth the following commendation from Macaulay: "Our fields are cultivated with a skill unknown elsewhere, with a skill which has extracted rich harvests from moors and morasses. Our houses are filled with conveniences which the kings of former times might have envied. Our bridges, our canals, our roads, our

"modes of communication fill every stranger with wonder. Nowhere are manufacturers carried to such perfection. Nowhere does man exercise such a dominion over matter".

One writer has said that the last phrase might properly have been transposed into "Nowhere does matter exercise such a dominion over man."

I shall then describe the introduction of serf labor into industry by taking children from the workhouses at the age of 7 and apprenticing them until the age of 21. They lived in prentice houses next to the mill and worked for 12 to 15 hours daily. Free child labor was used for equally long hours. Education was absent, mortality was high, and freedom nil.

I shall also deal with the inhuman discipline that the mill exercised upon adults as well as upon juveniles, the intolerable and unhealthy conditions of town and village life, the gross miscarriage of justice, the war of the interests upon individuals and their societies, the mental attitude of the well to do towards the poor, and the resulting attitude and instrumentalities developed by the poor.

The description cannot fail to interest those concerned with human development. It will be of value in the study of our present problems, for it furnished a clue for the reason of the present antagonism of the classes — one cannot readily forget any inhuman treatment of one's father or grandfather — and most important of all, it will emphasize the necessity of studying our own problems with open minds and candour free from class bias; for any repression similar to that carried on during the Industrial revolution will lead to serious consequences today, when people are better educated, have a larger measure of political freedom, and when a large proportion of all peoples have been taught during four years the effectiveness of violence.

My following chapter will deal with the History of Trade Unionism or of the development of organization and weapons amongst those people who were so cruelly oppressed during the Industrial Revolution. It is interesting to note that the booklet dealing with Trade Unionism published by the American

Federation of Labor is largely a History of English Trade Unionism.

In many respects, the picture presented is one that should afford us grounds of hope for an orderly and a successful solution of our present problems. Whilst much condemnatory criticism could properly be fastened on many employers, and to the Parliamentary representatives who supported them during the rise of the Trade Unions, yet even when ameliorating legislation was defeated, many employers were found upon the side of progress. The workers themselves also in the main showed much patience under exasperating oppression, and continued with dogged pertinacity to press for their claims. Sometimes, they adopted the direct method of the strike, and were often beaten: then they tried the method of parliamentary action and were more often successful.

This history, beginning about 1700, is full of human and historical interest. Some reference will be made to the early craft Guilds which are not properly the forerunners of Trade Unions, as, in the main, they were controlled by Master Craftsmen who became in effect the officers of the Municipality charged with the protection of the public from adulteration and fraud. The petition of the Carpenters' Co., in 1861 runs: "The fundamental ground of incorporating Handicraft Trades and Manual occupations into distinct Companies was to the end that all persons using such trades should be brought into one uniform Government and corrected and regulated by expert and skilful Governors under certain rules and ordinances appointed to that purpose." Moreover apprentices were limited in number and protected by law. The Elizabethan Statute of Apprentices made provisions that would "yield unto the hired person, both in time of scarcity and in time of plenty a convenient proportion of wages."

The Trade Union was concerned with the protection of the Standard of Life which was endangered by the disuse and the eventual repeal of the Apprenticeship Law. The Unions suffered many defeats in the early stages of their existence at the hands of the increasingly powerful owners of the means of production who rose in many instances from the ranks of the workmen themselves.

The Trade Unions were very successful in recruiting members at certain times, for instance, the General National Consolidated Trades Union recruited more than a half million members in a few weeks in 1834, but members were lost with equal rapidity as a result of defeats and disillusionment by failure to achieve their high aims.

The Labor movement has suffered from lack of cohesion among the different organizations, and by disagreement as to the means by which their ends should be secured, whether by political action by strikes. There is however evidence that this defect may be remedied with a considerable increase of power. Furthermore the Labor Party in England is widening its scope. It now includes all those who work with their hands or with their brains so long as they subscribe to the principles of the Party.

A study of the development of Trade Unionism is essential to a proper appreciation of the power of organized Labor industrially and politically.

After consideration of the organization of Trade Unions one naturally passes to a study of the various schools of thought or types of Industrial principles advocated by different students. I shall therefore devote some time to an exposition of the principles of Socialism, Collectivism, Syndicalism, Guild Socialism, and Bolshevism. I shall also deal briefly with some of the schools of thought that preceded the development of these principles, such as the Owenite propaganda, which developed into the Co-operative Movement, the principles of Marxianism, and the Anarchism.

It is unfortunately the custom of this busy age often to condemn new developments in thought and even in science without full knowledge and sufficient consideration. Our legacy from previous ages of control also leads many of us to evade a study of new thought because of the fear that we might find some element of reason which might upset our comfortable and cherished ideas.

Many of these ideas have been called dangerous and attempts have been made to suppress them. Undoubtedly there is much that is unsound or at least premature, but the best way in which to demonstrate this and to render them innocuous is to prove that such is the case

by argument and illustration, thus forming the strong counteracting and stabilizing influence of a widely held public opinion.

Some of these Social theories are elusive and difficult to follow, thus giving warrant to the criticism that it is impossible to formulate a definite policy in agreement with the principles enunciated. The argument is that the same thing may be said of Liberal or any other principles. On the other hand, some policies have definite ends and have formulated definite means by which to attain them, as, for example in the platform of the British Labour Party entitled "Labor and the New Social Order," which will be dealt with in a later chapter.

The principles of Guild Socialism are also well defined, as are also the means, constitutional for the most part, by which the National Guildsmen expect to attain their ends.

Some progressive policy will be necessary in order to meet the demands of Labour, and to allay the present industrial unrest. That we are decidedly not free from this in Canada is proved by the statements of Mr. C. H. Cahan, late the Director of Public Safety, who says that the principles of Bolshevism are spreading rapidly in this country. A sound and a progressive policy can only be developed by a general and open-minded study of all principles and ideas.

The next logical step is to acquaint oneself with the actual results that have followed the adoption of principles that have been put into practical operation in our own and in other countries in the direction of satisfying the demands of labour for more security, more responsibility, and a greater measure of self-determination.

I shall therefore deal briefly with the co-operative movement and the different systems of co-partnership and profit-sharing, giving particulars of the results achieved in many firms. It will also be necessary to describe fully the proposals suggested by the Whitley Committee of the Ministry of Reconstruction of the British Government, to outline the advantages to be secured by the adoption of these proposals and

to describe the extent of which they have already been adopted.

It will also be of interest to compare the proposals of the Whitley Committee with the State Socialist proposals of the British Labour Party, and the principles of the National Guildsmen.

After having reviewed the history of the Industrial Revolution, or the conditions which surrounded labour as a result of the introduction of machinery, then the history of Trade Unionism itself—after having investigated the industrial principles advocated by various students and reviewed the practical steps already taken to meet the general demands of Labour, we naturally come to a consideration of some specific and concrete problems.

We must first investigate the machinery which will enable Labour to get employment. In the interests of Labour from a human point of view, and in the interests of industry from the point of view of production, the machinery must be widespread, and as efficient as possible.

Security for continuous employment, or for compensation when this is not provided, is also sought by Labour. This will require a study of Unemployment Insurance. Many Trade Unions have provided this for a long time, but Government Unemployment Insurance which has been successfully in operation in Great Britain since 1911 is now sought in many countries.

The problem of hours of work must also be studied. Long hours, so disgracefully forced upon both adults and children during the Industrial Revolution, have been found by students to be uneconomical. The British Government also found during the war by an investigation into the health of the Munition Workers that hours had to be reduced in order to increase efficiency and many an employer has obtained an increased output by a reduction in hours. Lord Leverhulme, of Port Sunlight, is thinking of beginning a 6 hour day. He found that the reduction to 8 hours paid him.

We must also deal with the very important question of wages. The employers of the early nineteenth were obsessed with the inviolability of the economic law of supply and demand,

particularly as concerned Labor. Hence the severity of the laws against combinations to raise wages. This resulted in low wages for adults and children so that whole families had to work to secure the necessities for subsistence resulting in an entire absence of home life and comforts.

Industry in the past has been considered to be the exclusive and private preserve of the owner, and even though the State at times has interfered to protect the worker, it has not until the war, felt that it should interfere in the interests of efficiency. As a result of the dependance of the State upon Industry in so many directions, the view is now held by some that the owner of the means of production carries on his work as much in the nature of a national trust for the benefit of the workers and the public as for personal gain or gratification. Therefore it is likely that the State will continue to insist upon standards of efficiency. The view that industry must be efficiently conducted in order to provide a decent living for the workman is not a new one. The following is an extract from a handbill of 1818: "That whatever trade or employment will not leave profit sufficient to reward the Laborer so as to enable him to live in credit and respect, provided he be an able, active and sober man, the loss of such trade is a public benefit".

Education is one of the most important forces that upholds our civilisation, and gives promise of its continuance and its development. Due weight must be placed upon its liberal as well as upon its technical and scientific sides, for whilst industry demands technical knowledge and skill, a high civilisation demands a knowledge of the liberal arts. Not only must a certain standard of education be compulsory for all, but opportunities should be as wide as possible for the fullest education.

There will be given particulars of the Report of the Dominion Royal Commission on Industrial Training and Technical Education, and of the Fisher Education Bill recently passed in Great Britain, which puts the country in advance of all others in matters of education.

It is quite evident that I shall not be able to deal exhaustively or even fully with any one subject. I hope, however, that my endeavors will lead to a further study of these matters. That is the object of the Canadian National Reconstruction Groups. The Standing Committee on Plans and Propaganda is forming a large number of small study groups throughout the Dominion, consisting of 10 or 15 persons. It is hoped that this study will result in a widespread knowledge of actual conditions from which will arise a capacity to render sane and well considered judgments upon the grave and difficult problems that are facing us. Ignorance and indifference may lead to chaos with its attendant troubles. Knowledge and a careful consideration of the problems will lead to a constitutional and an orderly solution of them. Wordsworth says:

The food hope is mediated upon; robbed
of this,
Her sole support, she languishes and
dies.

We perish also; for we live by hope,
And by desire; we see by the glad light,
And breathe the sweet air of futurity;
And so we live, or else we have no
light.

The object of these chapters is to develop an understanding of the problems that will lead to meditated action.

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INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION

IT seems to be hardly necessary to repeat what appears so often in our newspapers that much industrial restlessness is prevalent. It has been smouldering during the war in spite of the payment of high wages. What is the cause of it? Some people think that all will be well if employment be plentiful, and if wages, that is real wages, continue to be high. It is true that such condition may mitigate or reduce the amount of unrest, but it will not remove it, for there is a deeper cause than that lying in wages and hours. Labor wants responsibility, it wants to escape from that excessive domination which has developed as a consequence of the Industrial Revolution, the Revolution which by means of machinery increased man's power over nature and added enormously to the comfort of the people in control of the nation and of the means of production at the expense of the workers who became the servants of forces that they could not see or measure but which, nevertheless, ground them down to industrial serfdom. That the conditions produced by this serfdom were even worse than those of slavery is shown by the reply of a West Indian Slave owner to Oastler and three Bradford spinners. "Well", he observed, "I have always thought myself disgraced by being the owner of slaves, but we never in the West Indies thought it possible for any human being to be so cruel as to require a child of nine years old to work twelve and a half hours a day, and that, you acknowledge is your regular practice."

This leads to the question "Has this condition of servility always existed? No student of history will claim that Utopian conditions of liberty have prevailed at any time, but there seems to be sufficient warrant for believing that the economic and social structure of society afforded much greater freedom of action and more opportunities for reaching a condition of independence, modest it may be true, than has been the case since the development of large

capitalism, and since the introduction of machinery.

Before the enclosure of the common lands in Great Britain, that is to say before the great landowner was enabled to set apart these broad tracts of arable or graying land for his own uses, the farm laborer had rights in these lands which put him in a certain position of independence. It is true that this condition may not have worked towards national economic efficiency, but it certainly resulted in independence as is illustrated in a complaint of Arbuthnot who wrote "The benefit which they are supposed to reap from commons, in their present state, I know to be merely nominal; nay indeed what is worse, I know, that, in many instances, it is an essential injury to them, by being made a plea for their idleness; for, some few excepted, if you offer them work, they will tell you that they must go to look up their sheep, cut furzes, get their cow out of the pound, or, perhaps, say that they must take their horse to be shod that he may carry them to a horse race or cricket-match."

Another man wrote "The possession of a cow or two, with a hog, and a few geese naturally exalts the peasant, in his own conception, above his brethren in the same rank of society". The authors of the "Village Laborer" wrote "The most important fact about this system (of common lands) is that it provided opportunities for the humblest and poorest laborer to rise in the village: the farmer servant could save up his wages and begin his married life by hiring a cottage which carried rights of common, and gradually buy or hire strips of land. Every village, as Hasbach has put it, had its ladder, and nobody was doomed to stay on the lowest rung."

It is thought by many historians that this communal organization of the peasantry, this village community of shareholders who cultivated the land on the open field system is more ancient than the manorial order which was brought about by the needs of Govern-

ment, and the development of individualistic husbandry side by side with the communal village.

The causes of the enclosure of the Common Lands are a little difficult to determine. They arose largely as a consequence of the sudden accession of wealth to the capitalists who were developed by the introduction of the factory system, of their desire for social power expressed in the ownership of land, and the paternal control over its occupants, and of a zeal for economic progress, the new and outstanding characteristic of the Industrial Revolution. This economic progress was placed higher in the scale than individual independence.

That the development of the enclosure grew with the growth of the Industrial Revolution, which is covered by the period of 1760 to 1832 may be seen from the following figures. Between 1700 and 1760, before the Revolution, there were passed 208 acts affecting about 312,000 acres. Between 1761 and 1801, the number of acts was 2,000 affecting 3,181,000 acres, and between 1802 and 1844, the number was 1833 acts affecting 2,549,000 acres.

This depriving of rights resulted in much disorder, but a description of this is beyond my scope. I would, however, like to read the petition of the small proprietors and persons entitled to rights of common at Rands in Northamptonshire. They lost their rights by an enclosure act of 1797, and petitioned Parliament as follows: "That the petitioners beg leave to represent to the House that, under pretence of improving lands in the said parish, the cottages and other persons entitled to right of common on the lands intended to be inclosed, will be deprived of an inestimable privilege, which they now enjoy, of turning a certain number of their cows, calves and sheep on and over the said lands; a privilege that enables them not only to maintain themselves and their families in the depth of winter, when they cannot even for their money, obtain from the occupiers of other lands the smallest portion of milk or whey for such necessary purpose, but, in addition to this, they can now supply the grazier with young or lean stock at a reasonable price to fatten and bring to market at a more

moderate rate for general consumption which they conceive to be the most rational and effectual way of establishing public plenty and cheapness of provision; and they further conceive that a more ruinous effect of this Inclosure will be the almost total depopulation of their town now filled with bold and hardy husbandmen from among whom and the inhabitants of other open parishes, the nation has hitherto derived its greatest strength and glory in the supply of its fleets and armies and driving them, from necessity and want of employ, in vast crowds into manufacturing towns where the very nature of their employment over the loom or the forge soon may waste their strength and consequently debilitate their posterity. The present cry of "Back to the land" has arisen partly because the conditions above predicted have become actually realized.

As for the worker or craftman, what was his position before the development of capitalism on a large scale or before the introduction of the factory system?

Mediaeval industry was carried on by master craftsmen who employed only a few apprentices and journeymen. These apprentices and journeymen were of the same social status as their masters. They could look forward to becoming master craftsmen themselves or to marrying the daughter of their master. The number of apprentices and journeymen employed by each master craftsman was limited by agreement or by law, and there was a direct Government interest in the conditions under which the employees worked. For example, Sidney Webb writes: "To the Parliament of these days (in 1555) it seemed right and natural that the oppressed wage earners should turn to the legislature to protect them against the cutting down of their earnings by the competing capitalists. In 1563, indeed, Parliament expressly charged itself with securing to all wage-earners a "convenient" livelihood".

The craftsmen combined themselves into Guilds, the definite purposes of which are not altogether agreed upon by students. For instance, Dr. Brentano supposes that they were inaugurated in order to stop the deterioration of their conditions and to protect them-

selves against the abuse of power on the part of the lords of the town who tried to reduce the free to the dependence of the unfree. Dr. Cunningham thinks that the Craft Guilds were called into being not out of antagonism to existing authorities but as new institutions to which special parts of their own duties were delegated by the burgh officers or the local guild merchants. Prof. W. J. Ashley feels that the guilds were self governing bodies of craftsmen initiating their own trade regulations, the magistrates of the town council having a real or somewhat vague authority to sanction or veto these ordinances for the good of the citizen.

The Craft Guilds were looked upon as the representatives of the interests not of one class alone, but of the three distinct and somewhat antagonistic elements of modern society, the capitalist entrepreneur, the manual worker, and the consumer at large.

This brief description will show that the apprentice and the journeyman, the equivalents of the modern worker, were protected by law as to wages and conditions of work; witness the appointment of a Committee of the Privy Council in 1726 to investigate the complaints of the weavers of Wilts and Somerset against the clothiers. In the articles of agreement drawn up for the settlement of the dispute, the Committee admonishes the weavers "for the future to lay their grievances in a regular way before His Majesty who will always be ready to grant them relief suitable to the justice of their case". They were also protected by the mutuality of interest represented in the Guild, and by the fact that owing to the limited number of apprentices and journeymen allowed to each master, the number of masters was greater than would otherwise have been the case, and there was therefore a greater opportunity for the journeymen eventually to become masters themselves.

One must not assume however from this statement that there were no problems arising out of difficulties between masters and men before the Industrial Revolution. Speaking generally however, the worker owned the machinery for production which he operated in his own home even though at times he

was dependent for the supply of his raw material and for the marketing of his product upon the capitalist merchant. Although he sometimes worked for long hours, and often with the help of his children, he was his own master in his own house. He had a garden, in which he grew most of his produce, he often had a cow, and sometimes a horse.

Felkin has drawn an alluring picture of the stocking makers of Nottingham. He says that "each had a garden, a barrel of home brewed ale, a week day suit of clothes and one for Sundays, and plenty of leisure, seldom working for more than three days a week. Moreover music was cultivated by them."

This world of semi-independence was much affected by the rapid development in industry and transportation. To describe the improvements that followed each other in rapid succession, I quote from the "Town Laborer", which is an excellent history of the Industrial Revolution. The authors state "The blind Metcalfe had introduced the art of making roads; the illiterate Brindley, the art of building aqueducts. Telford, a shepherd's son, had thrown a bridge across the Menai Straits; Bell, a millwright's apprentice, had launched the first steamer on the Clyde; Stephenson, the son of a firman, had driven his first railway engine; while a long line of inventors and organizers: Watt, Arkwright, Wedgwood, Crompton, Hargreaves and a hundred others — by their patience and their courage and their imagination, had between them made England the workshop of the world."

The leaders of the nation and the owners of the means of production were carried away by the success attending the introduction of these inventions. They felt that no consideration, humane or other, should interfere with the fullest development of the commerce and industry of the country. They were also obsessed with a superficial acceptance of new enunciations of economic laws. These considerations dominated politicians and produced effects which justly earned for political economy the title of the dismal science.

The politicians and capitalists took from the principles of Adam Smith—

unconsciously it may be,—those that suited their own interests. His writings displayed trade as an elaborate and varied life of mutual service, a system in which men and nature were not all engaged in snatching advantages from each other but were unconsciously helping and developing each other. He argued that Governments, by imposing restrictions and regulations, had done harm rather than good to the peoples they thought they were benefitting because they interfered with “the obvious and simple system of natural liberty”. The classes in power applied this principle to the relations between capital and labor, but rarely and only after a long interval, did they apply it to anything else.

Previously, innumerable laws existed, designed to prevent the exploitation of the public by the monopolists or the limit, in the defence of order and peace, the access to particular trades and careers, or to protect private accumulations and interests, or to maintain a standard of life. Under this new principle, all these were discarded. Pitt stated that “trade, industry and barter would always find their own level, and be impeded by regulations which violated their natural operation, and deranged their proper effect. The principle was held to apply particularly to wages.

There was therefore an interplay of forces which threatened and ultimately took away the independence of the worker. The power of the capitalist, assisted possibly by the development of transportation, to control the raw materials of industry, and the facilities for marketing the products; the development of machinery too expensive for ownership by individual workmen, and yet able to force out of existence the old home methods of manufacture; the concentration of labor into factories to utilize this machinery; and the abrogation of the old protective and restrictive laws in response to the acceptance of the new principle of unrestricted commerce; these were the new and potent forces that faced the worker, and they arose principally by the concentration of the ownership of the means of production in few hands.

The immediate effect of these forces was to drive the population from the

countryside into towns and villages. This movement increased the rental of land in some cases 1,500, and in others as much as 3,000 p.c. The new order of existence also had the effect of rapidly increasing the population, as a consequence of the value of child labor, which had to be utilized by the family to supplement its meagre budget.

The effect of these new forces may be summed up in a quotation from “The Town Laborer”, which runs: “Thus the new world had two aspects. Those who lived under the shelter of property welcomed the new wealth that multiplied their enjoyments, embellished their homes, enriched their imaginations, increased their power, and gave an astonishing range and scope to the comforts and the arts of life... For the working classes, the most important fact about that wealth was that it was wealth in dangerous disorder, for unless these new forces could be brought under the control of the common will, the power that was flooding the world with its lavish gifts was destined to become a fresh menace to the freedom and the happiness of men”.

The worker was now controlled by a new force, one that disregarded his human feelings and his instincts. It imposed a rigid inexorable discipline which itself seemed to arise from an immutable principle of competition as inhuman as the machines that thundered in factory and shed. His resentment was not against machinery as such, but against the effects of the introduction, as an ally of capital unbridled by control. Before the change, his hours of work may have been many, but they were according to his own choice; his wife and children often aided him, but they worked beside him, and there was no alien power over their lives; he had his garden for profit and recreation. He was not wholly dominated by an outside discipline.

Machinery and the uncontrolled play of the new found economic principle of unrestricted competition both under the direction of the growing power of capital, imposed an iron discipline. Of machinery, it was written in 1832 “Whilst the engine runs the people must work—men, women and children are yoked together with iron and steam. The animal machine, breakable

in the best case, subject to a thousand sources of suffering—is chained fast to the iron machine, which knows no suffering and no weariness”.

Let me give some instances of this discipline. I will give you a list of a few of the fines to which the spinners at Tyldesley, near Manchester, were subjected in 1823. They worked in a temperature of 80—84 degrees.

Any spinner found with his window open.	1/—
Any spinner found washing himself.	1/—
Any spinner heard whistling . . .	1/—
Any spinner being sick and cannot find another spinner to give satisfaction must pay for steam per day.	6/—

There are many other fines which I have not given. They appeared in a pamphlet published at Manchester which adds. “At Tyldesley, they work fourteen hours per day, including the nominal hour for dinner; the door is locked in working hours, except half an hour at tea time; the work-people are not allowed to send for water to drink, in the hot factory; and even the rain water is locked up, by the master’s orders otherwise they would be happy to drink even that”.

Amongst coal mine owners there was a brutal disregard for the safety of the miners. Accidents were so common that the whole population in some districts felt as if they were engaged in a campaign. Down to 1815, it was not the custom to hold inquests on the victims of accidents in the mines of Northumberland and Durham. Children were employed on most responsible work in the mines. The Children’s Employment Commission of 1842 concluded that it was astonishing that accidents were not more frequent, seeing that all expedients for safety might be counteracted by allowing a single trap door to remain open, and yet in all the coal mines, in all the districts of the United Kingdom, the care of these trap-doors is entrusted to children of from 5 to 7 or 8 years of age, who for the most part sit, excepting at the moments when persons pass through these doors, for 12 hours consecutively in solitude, silence and darkness.

Sir J. C. Hippisley, a Somerset magistrate, wrote to the Home Office in 1817 as follows: “At the great colliery of Clan Down . . . from 100 to 150 men are employed in the veins at a perpendicular depth of above 1200 feet, and it is in the power of an idle or mischievous Engine Boy to drown the whole of them without destroying or injuring the Fire Engine”.

Women were often employed in the mines. A witness told the Commission of 1842 that a married woman miner worked day and night—the day in the mine, the night at home in washing, cooking and cleaning her house. At the Felling Pit, at the beginning of the 19th century, boys hours were from 18 to 20. The miners as a body lived underground and seldom, saw daylight except on Sundays.

In the factories, the women had no time, no means, no opportunities of learning the duties of domestic life. A Manchester correspondent wrote to the Home Office in 1800, as follows: “The people employed in the different manufactures are early introduced into them, many at five and six years old, both girls and boys, so that when the former become women, they have not had an opportunity of acquiring any habits of domestic economy or the management of a family . . . The greater part of the working and lower class of people have not wives that can dress a joint of meat if they were to have it given them. The consequence is that such articles become their food that are the most easily acquired, consequently their general food now consists of bread and cheese”.

This new unrestricted discipline wrought its havoc upon the children as well as upon adults. Child serf labor was first obtained from the workhouses from which children were sent to the factories at 7 years of age to be apprenticed until they were 21. In many parishes, the overseers refused relief unless the children went to work. Free child labor was also forced into the mill because of the necessity of adding their earnings to the family income as a family could not live upon an income of 5½/ or 6/ per week. Cobbett described how women took their children to the mill through the snow: the child

was crying, but the mother too was crying.

Much beating was done in the factories. Fathers beat their children to save them from a worse beating by some one else; overseers and spinners beat children often, because they had to get a certain amount of work from them. This condition was aggravated by the system of setting up a class of small contractors for child labor who naturally endeavored to get the utmost work for the smallest pay.

Even at this time, there was a considerable body of masters whom recognized the faults of the system; who understood that low wages were bad for industry and bad for the nation, but they could not individually fight against the system itself, which was dependent upon the selfishness, indifference or blind greed of the worst employers. It is stated that "In the old days, the workmen were dealing with a comparatively small circle of masters; they were now pitted against a system, and not only they, but every good employer, and every good citizen as well. At Leicester, on one occasion, the men were supported by the Lord Lieutenant, Mayor, Aldermen and the churches and chapels. The Industrial Revolution had delivered society from its primitive dependence on the forces of nature, but in return it had taken society prisoner".

The most outstanding result of the new system was the depreciation in human life; workmen were too old at 40; they had become a mere part of the new machinery without its power of continuous endurance, and without a share in the increased wealth or the increased power over life that machinery had brought. The revolution that had raised the standard of comfort for the rich had depressed the standard of life for the poor; it had given the capitalist a new importance while it had degraded the workpeople to be the mere muscels of industry. Men, women and children were in the grasp of a great machine that threatened to destroy all sense of the dignity of human life.

I have spoken of the rapid growth of the town, but what was the new town that arose? The towns of the

Middle Ages were such as the inhabitant would take pride in and could feel some affection for. They sheltered them from danger, and they were the expression in material form of the sentiments and artistic tastes of the people. They were the centres of corporate spirit and pride. They exercised self government without check which conduced to a spirit of independence. The new industrial towns were the product of different conditions. I have already spoken of their rapid growth, and you who have visited the Old Country know the character of their structure. They have been described as "long rows of barracks, not the refuge of civilization, but the barracks of industry. This character was stamped on their form and life and government. The mediaeval town had reflected the minds of centuries, and the subtle associations of a living society with a history; these towns reflected the violent enterprise of an hour, the single passion that had thrown street upon street in a frantic monotony of disorder".

Nassau Senior describes those parts of Manchester inhabited by the Irish immigrants as follows: "These towns, for in extent and number of inhabitants, they are towns, have been erected with the utmost disregard of everything, except the immediate advantage of the speculating builder. A carpenter and builder unite to buy a series of building sites, and cover them with so called houses. In one place, we found a whole street following the course of a ditch because in this way deeper cellars could be secured without the cost of digging, cellars not for storing wares or rubbish but for dwellings of human beings. Not one house of this street escaped the cholera".

The mediaeval English Town once produced artists, players, minstrels, great pageants, and Guild festivals. It now consisted of huge barracks maintaining people enjoying only the barest necessities of existence. One writer in the "Pioneer" of Trade Union Magazine of October 19, 1833, said: "Have we not seen the commons of our fathers enclosed by insolent cupidity — our sports converted into cri-

"mes—our holidays into fast days ?
"The green grass and the healthful
"hayfields are shut from our path.
"The whistling of birds is not for us
"—our melody is the deafening noise
"of the engine. The merry fiddle and
"the humble dance will send us to the
"treadmill. We eat the worst food,
"drink the worst drink—our raiment,
"our houses, our everything, bear signs
"of poverty, and we are gravely told
"that this must be our lot".

Moreover, the working class had no hand in the government of the town or the city. This was usually vested in the Lord of the Manor.

The houses were built by the owner of the mine or of the mill, so that the capitalist had an additional hold over the worker who was liable to eviction at any time. There were, of course, occasional good landlords who provided church, school and reading room, but the feeling of control was present even here. On the other hand others were grasping and avaricious and used the control they possessed to prolong the working hours.

This system also brought in its train the accursed system of truck by which the worker was forced to purchase his household supplies from the agents of the mill or mine owner. Even Landerdale, the most dogged opponent of Industrial Reform, supported the extension of Truck Acts, declaring that he knew of cases where miners paid 12/ for 6/—worth of flour.

The curious mentality of the governing class led them into the belief that leisure and amusement were unprofitable and even dangerous for the working class. A Report to the Government in 1818 included the following sentence: "All experience proves that in lower orders the deterioration of morals increases with the quantity of unemployed time of which they have the command". The magistrates, as a rule refused licenses to public houses where concerts were held. This denial of leisure and innocent amusement, together with the drab conditions in which they lived in factory and home increased the indulgence in vicious and brutal amusements such as bull-baiting, cockfighting, and a kind of brutal boxing called fighting "up and down" which frequently ended in death.

It is not natural that Englishmen should have regarded these towns, not with the pride of Merrie England, but with a fear of their hidden and submerged potentialities. This reflected itself in the disregard of education. Place wrote in 1832 "Ministers and men in power, with nearly the whole body of those who are rich, dread the consequences of teaching the people more than they dread the effect of their ignorance". Dean Alford wrote in 1839 "Prussia is before us; Switzerland is before us; France is before us. There is no record of any people on earth so highly civilized, so abounding in arts and comforts, and so grossly generally ignorant as the English".

The attitude of the upper classes towards the lower is illustrated in a remark of a large employer who said: "I don't want one of your intellectuals; I want a man that will work, and take his glass of ale. I'll think for him".

Pitt once said that "it was the boast of the law of England that it afforded equal security and protection to high and the low, the rich and the poor". It was true that the caprice of the Crown had been abolished, and the supremacy of the law established, but the chief business of the law was the defence of the rights of property and the normal Englishman was thought to be the Englishman with property.

During the Middle Ages, the worker had secured some protection from the Crown and from the Guilds, but these laws and customs gradually fell into disuse. The increase in the population and the drift into the towns brought new problems and much of the machinery of the law courts became obsolete and defective. Instead of reforming the system, the governing class contented itself with adding new penalties and making the penal laws more savage. The French Revolution also brought a new fear, and the rights of property seemed to be in danger. The law was therefore treated as an instrument not of justice but of repression.

Justice was most emphatically not granted equally to rich and poor. The workman was rarely tried by his peers. He was generally sent to prison by a

magistrate who was frequently his employer or at any rate allied in interests with his employer. The country gentleman who previously refused association with the manufacturer, hobnobbed with him when he became a millionaire. He felt that he had the same interest with him in repressing the lower classes. It was said that "if the employers regarded the discontent of the workmen as a menace to profits, the squires and persons regarded it as a menace to property and order".

The laws against Combinations which were a dead letter as far as the manufacturers were concerned, were rigidly enforced against the workmen. In Wigan, in 1818, all the magistrates were manufacturers and were therefore disqualified for trying breaches of the Act when these consisted of combinations among employers. Consequently they broke it at their pleasure. In a town in Wales, the only magistrates were two iron masters both employing 4,000 or 5,000 workpeople, and they were constantly trying offences against themselves.

The colliers and ironworkers were frequently engaged in a series of strikes to compel the masters to do what the law ordered them to do. When trouble became serious, the magistrates met, not to enforce the Truck Acts that had been broken by the masters, but to enforce the Vagrancy Acts against the men, who were actually imprisoned for trying to make the masters obey the law.

This breaking of the laws against Truck by the masters was the cause of much trouble. A correspondent wrote to the Home Office in 1822 as follows: "The men have now availed themselves as a plausible and (I may safely add) a real cause of complaint. By this practice (of raising their prices in the Tommy shops), the Coal and Iron Masters compel their workmen to accept of two thirds of their wages in goods, such as sugar, soap, candles, meat, bacon, flour, etc., instead of money, at an unreasonable large profit. This appears to be the real cause of complaint more than the reduction of wages, and it is really very hard upon them, and as the masters contrive to evade the

Act of Parliament, the men seem to have no relief but ceasing to work."

In 1823, a statement was made that the men were compelled to receive their wages in goods instead of money at prices, 20, 30 and 40 p.c. higher than in the markets.

I will give an instance or two of injustice and extreme penalties. In 1818, at the Salisbury Assizes a judge sentenced a laborer to eighteen months imprisonment for stealing a sack of oats. The man, on receiving sentence, asked the judge how he could recover the wages that were due him. The judge responded by converting his sentence into one of transportation for seven years. Another case of extreme penalty is that of a child of ten who was sentenced to death, in 1800, for secreting notes at the Chelmsford Post Office. The judge Baron Hotham wrote to Lord Auckland: "All the circumstances attending the transaction manifested art and contrivance beyond his years, and I therefore refused the application of his Counsel to respite the judgment on the ground of his tender years, being satisfied that he knew perfectly what he was doing. But still, he is an absolute child, now only between ten and eleven, and wearing a bib, or what your old nurse (my friend) will know better by the name of a pinafore. The scene was dreadful on passing the sentence, and to pacify the feelings of a most crowded court, who all expressed their horror of such a child being hanged, by their looks and their manners, after stating the necessity of the prosecution, and the infinite danger of its going abroad into the world that a child might commit such a crime with impunity, when it was clear that he knew what he was doing. I hinted something slightly of its still being in the power of the Crown to interpose in every case that was open to clemency". The sentence was commuted and the boy was sent out to Grenada for fourteen years apparently by a private arrangement with a member of the Grand Jury who had estates there.

Another case is that of a woman whose husband had been transported for felony. She committed the same

felony in the hope of joining him in exile, but the judge thought it necessary to make an example and hanged her instead.

Peel's bill for extending the payment of expenses of witnesses and prosecutors out of the county rates increased the incentives to secure convictions often upon false evidence. Nadin, the notorious deputy constable of Manchester, made 120,000 out of his position. One of his own police constables stated under oath that "he had been in the habit of inveigling persons into the uttering of forged notes for the purpose of convicting them, and that he had succeeded in hanging one man in this way".

The authors of the "Town Laborer" state that "it is not too much to say, in the light of the Home Office papers, that none of the personal rights attaching to the Englishman possessed any reality for the working classes. The magistrates and their clerks recognized no limit to their power over the freedom and the movements of the working men. The Vagrancy Laws seemed to supersede the entire charter of an Englishman's liberties. They were used to put into prison any man or woman of the working class who seemed to the magistrates an inconvenient or disturbing character".

The force that was employed to give effect to the decisions of the magistrates was one that was developed by Pitt principally for the purpose of dominating the working classes although ostensibly it had other objects as well. At this time two Revolutions had come simultaneously. The French Revolution had transformed the minds of the ruling classes and the Industrial Revolution had convulsed the world of the working classes. This second development gave the ruling classes causes for grave apprehension, and their conception of government was that of force "policing the poor" as it was called at that time. The army was increased and in place of being billeted in ale houses, barracks had been built to contain 17,000 cavalry, and 138,000 infantry. At the beginning of the French War, there was barrack accommodation for only 21,000 troops. Pitt

put the motive quite clearly when he said: "The circumstances of the country, coupled with the general state of affairs, rendered it advisable to provide barracks in other parts of the kingdom. A spirit had appeared in some of the manufacturing towns which made it necessary that troops should be kept near them". The soldiers were moved about in accordance with the fluctuations in wages and employment. The militia and the volunteers proved untrustworthy, so that a strong force of yeomanry was created. It was their hotheadedness and zeal which caused the massacre of Peterloo, when 11 were killed and 400 wounded.

The history of the early years of the Industrial Revolution is a history of vast and rapid expansion during which the employees did not obtain any part of the new wealth. The Industries were not even supporting their work-people, many of whom had to get parish relief, and to rely on the earnings of their children.

The upper classes with their belief in the "obvious and simple system of natural liberty" argued that the existing order was a dispensation of Providence. The social history of the period is largely the revolt of the working classes against this superstition. They struggled to maintain the standard of life. They would ask for the enforcement of the old regulations; or for a legal minimum wage; or for the right to combine, and were denied. All this culminated in a widespread desire for the franchise.

Speculation in Industry and Commerce particularly for export trade to South America resembled in some features the South Sea Bubble. This was followed by Bankruptcies and industrial distress, so that the wages of the Bolton weavers fell to 5/- per week.

The Napoleonic wars, the inflated currency, and the Corn Laws had the effect of reducing real wages very considerably. This resulted in food riots, and in demonstrations that ended in a cavalry charge, and half a dozen men or women sent to the gallows.

The effect of the concentration of workers into towns, the greater vulnerability of the masters with large investments in plant and machinery, would appear to have given greater

opportunities for the Trade Unions, but these opportunities were rendered of no effect because of the repressive measures taken by the ruling classes. Laws against combinations had existed prior to the Industrial Revolution — there were 40 on the Statute Book in 1800, but they forbade not an infringement by the workers of the freedom of the employers, but an infringement of the authority of the State which itself had been accustomed to rule industry. Hence though a combination to reduce hours or to increase wages was illegal, it was possible to combine against masters who refused to obey the law fixing the hours and the wages.

In the light of the French Revolution, combination seemed a formidable political danger. It was also felt to be a grave economic danger in the eyes of the employers who had discovered that they were the best judges of all questions relating to the conditions of industry. Peace, order, and progress all turned upon discipline. The workers must not think or act for themselves, and must take what wages their masters, who were the best judges of the circumstances of the trade, chose to give them. In other words, the State was to abdicate in favor of the employers, and this is virtually what happened on the passing of the Combination Laws in 1799 and 1800. Before this, there had been much State regulation of prices, wages, conditions of apprenticeship, etc. During the period now treated of, the workers frequently called upon the State to act with its old authority, but the ruling classes rejected their plea, and put the masters into the place of the State.

These combination laws were of extraordinary severity, and really proclaimed a doctrine of serf labor and low wages. Every working man was compelled either to accept the wages that his employer, with the law behind him, chose to give, or else to become a Vagrant. The Combination Laws lasted for a quarter of a century, and during that time the workpeople were at the mercy of their masters. In 1823, a spinner named Ryding, was tried under these laws. Cobbett wrote a public letter to Wilberforce who had referred to "free British Laborers" in a

speech on the West Indian slaves, in which he said:

"Well, Wilberforce; the combiners are to go to gaol or to the House of Correction, to the former for not more than three months, to the latter for not more than two months for the first going off. *Two Justices of the Peace*, who are appointed or displaced at the pleasure of the Ministers, two of these men are to hear, determine and sentence without any *Trial by the Peers of the party*. It being very difficult to get proof of this combining for the raising of wages, there is a clause in the Act compelling the persons accused to give evidence against themselves or against their associates. If they refuse, those two Justices have the power to commit them to prison, there to remain, without bail or mainprize, until they submit to be examined or to give evidence before such Justices.

Now, you will observe, Wilberforce, that this punishment is inflicted in order to prevent workmen from uniting together and by such union, to obtain an addition to their wages, or, as in the case of Ryding and Horrocks, to prevent their wages from being reduced. Every man's labor is his own *property*. It is something which he has to sell or otherwise dispose of. The cotton spinners had their labor to sell; or at least they thought so. They were pretty free to sell it before this Combination Law of 1800. They had their labor to sell. The purchasers were powerful and rich, and wanted them to sell it at what the spinners deemed too low a price. In order to be a match for the rich purchasers, the sellers of the labor agree to assist one another, and thus to live as well as they can; till they can obtain what they deem a proper price. Now, what was there wrong in this? What was there either unjust or illegal? If men be attacked either in the market or in their shops; if butchers, bakers, farmers, millers be attacked with a view of forcing them to sell their commodities at a price lower than they demand, the assailants are deemed rioters and are hanged. In 1812, a poor woman who seized, or rather, assisted to seize a man's potatoes in the market, at Manchester, and, in compelling him to sell them at a lower price than that which he asked for them; this poor woman, who had very likely a starving family at home, *was hanged by the neck till she was dead*.

Now then, if it was a crime worthy of death to attempt to force potatoes from a farmer, is it a crime in the cotton spinner to attempt to prevent others from getting his labor from him at a price lower than he asks for it? It is

impossible; statutes upon statutes may be passed, but it is impossible to make a man believe that he has fair play, if farmer's property is to be protected in this manner, and if it be a crime, to be punished by imprisonment, without Trial by Jury, to endeavor to protect the laborer's property.

This Combination Act does, however, say that the *masters* shall not combine against the workmen. Oh, well then, how fair this Act is. And what then did Ryding mean, when he talked about the *partiality* of the law? What did he mean by saying that there was no law for the poor man; that there was no justice; that the masters could do what they pleased without being punished? Why, did he ever read this law? Does he know the contents of the *good old King*, chapter 106? Does this law say that all contracts between masters and other persons for reducing the wages of men; does it not say, in short, that all such combinations of masters against workmen "shall be, and the same are hereby declared to be *illegal*, null and void, to all intents and purposes whatsoever"? Does not the law say this; and does it not empower the two Justices to *send the masters to the common gaol and the House of Correction*? No, the devil a bit does it do such a thing. No such thing does it do. However flagrant the combination; however oppressive; however cruel; though it may bring starvation upon thousands of persons; though it may tend (as in numerous cases it has tended) to produce breaches of the peace, insurrections and all their consequences; though such may be the nature and tendency of these combinations of the masters, the utmost punishment that the two Justices can inflict, is a *fine of twenty pounds*. But now mark the difference. Mark it, Wilberforce; note it down as a proof of the happiness of your "*free British Laborers*": mark, that the masters cannot be called upon by the Justices to *give evidence against themselves and their associates*.

It is also to be noted that whilst thousands of work people were sent to prison under these laws, there is no record of a single conviction of an employer against whom they applied equally.

I have referred more than once to the employment of children in mill and mine. I would like to give some further particulars. The idea of the employment of children did not originate with the Industrial Revolution, but its operation is seen at its worst during this period, for prior to this time, children worked principally with their

parents or in the homes of their parents. Child labor meant cheap labor for the employers from both children and adults. Pitt, in his famous Poor Law Bill, proposed that children should be set to work when they were five, and on another occasion said: "Experience had already shown how much could be done by the industry of children, and the advantages of early employing them in such branches of manufacture as they are capable to execute".

The classes of children employed were two in number. The first to be used were pauper children obtained in cartloads from the workhouses of the big towns. They were apprenticed at the age of 7 and upwards until they were 21. The free labor children or those living at home were soon forced into the mill or mine in order to assist in swelling the meagre family funds. Workhouse children were forced into the mill as apprentices, for in London relief was seldom bestowed "without the parish claiming the exclusive right of disposing at their pleasure of all the children of the person receiving relief", and the place of disposal was the ever ready mill. One Lancashire mill owner agreed with a London parish to take one idiot with every 20 sound children supplied.

These children passed their lives between the mill and the prentice house adjoining it. A typical example of conditions is given in a description of a mill at Backbarrow. They worked from 5 a.m. to 8 p.m., with half an hour for breakfast at 7 a.m., and another half an hour at 12 for dinner. They were allowed to eat something in the afternoon while working. On Sundays, many and sometimes all were employed from 6 a.m. till noon cleaning machinery. These cotton mill apprentices became subject to putrid fever.

When the mills changed from water power to steam power, factories were built in towns, and the children of the neighborhood were employed. Operatives at first refused to let their children enter the mill, but economic pressure—the weavers wage sank to 6/6 per week—soon enforced this. The usual age for these free children was 6 or 7, but Robert Owen stated that many were employed under that age, at four

and five, and in one case 3 years. They entered the mill at 5 or 6 a.m. and left at 7 or 8 p.m. It is calculated that a child walked 20 miles in one day in following the spinning machine. Much beating was prevalent and necessary in order to force the exhausted children to continue working.

An Act dealing with apprentices was passed in 1802—the Cotton Factories Regulation Act in 1819 limiting the age to 9 years and the hours to 13½ from the ages of 9 to 16. Another Act was passed in 1831. This act ends the Factory legislation of the period covered by the Industrial Revolution. Children were left entirely unprotected, except in the Cotton Industry, and here their masters might work children of nine for 12 hours a day exclusive of meal times. Before a select Committee appointed to examine into Factory Children's Labor during the agitation over the Reform Bill, there passed a long procession of workers, men and women, girls and boys, of whom it has been written, as I said last week "Stunted, diseased, deformed, degraded, each with the tale of his wronged life, "they pass across the stage, a living picture of man's cruelty to man, a pitiless indictment of those rulers who in their days of unabated power, had abandoned the weak to the rapacity of the strong".

Children were also employed in the mine as trappers to open and close the doors that guide the draught of air through the mine; as fillers, to fill the skips and carriages with coal; and as pushers, to push the trucks to the foot of the shaft. Trapping was done by children from 5 to 8 years of age. A girl of 8 years of age described her day: "I'm a trapper in the Gamber Pit. I have to trap without a light and I'm scared. I go at four and sometimes half past three in the morning, and come out at five and half past. I never go to sleep. Sometimes, I sing when I've a light but not in the dark. I dare not sing then". A sub-commissioner described a boy whom he saw as "abject, idiotic, like a thing, a creeping thing peculiar to the place". A report of the Children's Employment Commission dealing with the children employed to push the corves—often girls were used—said: "Chained, belted, harnessed like dogs

"in a go cart, saturated with wet, and more than half naked—crawling upon their hands and feet, and dragging their heavy loads behind them—they present an appearance indescribably disgusting and unnatural".

Many of these mines were owned by the nobility of England.

I have no space in which to deal with the pitiful story of the chimney sweeps. I can only say that they worked for no powerful interest, and the only reason why Parliament refused to reform the inhuman system in vogue was because it was thought to be impossible by the use of a machine to sweep the elaborate chimneys in grand houses whose owners did not want their handsome apartment disfigured with a register door which might have been necessary to permit this. Children were therefore forced to continue to climb them and often to die in chimneys some of which were only 7" square.

Charles Kingsley, a man much concerned about the conditions of the workers of his time, and a Christian socialist, has accurately described the conditions of the chimney sweeps in his delightful work "Water Babies", a book interesting to children both big and little.

It is only right to mention that the debased conditions to which the operatives were reduced by the introduction of machinery were not experienced by the older craftsman for some time, such craftsmen as the harness makers, printers, carriers, hat makers, and so on. The Combination Laws were not applied to them until about 1818, when reductions in wages were made by their employers as a result of a decline in trade. The journeymen and apprentices attempted to resist these reductions, and the Combination Laws were put into force against them also. This aroused their active opposition and led eventually to a repeal.

It will be seen from this brief description of the Industrial Revolution, that the introduction of machinery and the application of the newly absorbed principle of unrestricted play of free competition, principally to wages, with the assistance of the Combination Laws, took away from the Englishman much of his old liberty. The long and strenuous fight to regain this is told in the History of Trade Unionism.

History of Trade Unionism

THE Industrial Revolution described in the last chapter, weighed most heavily upon those who were driven into the factory where steam and labor-saving machinery had been introduced. The workmen in these trades had not had sufficient time in which to develop effective instruments to enable them to meet the new power of machinery, capital, and the legal checks with which the Government assisted these forces. They were compelled to accept low wages, which were often insufficient to maintain a minimum standard of existence, so that supplementary assistance had to be forthcoming from the rates.

Many of the handicraftsmen, however, for a time, were able to maintain their semi-independent state, and to render of little effect some of the laws that weighed so heavily upon the operatives in the factory. For instance, George White, the energetic clerk to Hume's Committee asserted in 1823 that the Combination Act of 1800 had been in general a dead letter upon those artisans upon whom it was intended to have an effect—namely, the shoemakers, printers, papermakers, shipbuilders, tailors, etc., who have had their regular societies and houses of call, as though no such Act was in existence; and in fact it would be almost impossible for many of those trades to be carried on without such societies, who are in general sink and travelling relief societies; and the roads and parishes would be much pestered with these travelling trades, who travel from want of employment, were it not for their societies who relieve what they call tramps".

Furthermore, association among the handicraftsmen was closer than among the newly arisen operatives. Of this, Francis Place writes as follows: "In these societies, there are some few individuals who possess the confidence of their fellows, and when any matter relating to the trade has been talked over, either at a club or in a separate room, or in a workshop or a yard, and the matter has become notorious, these men are expected to direct what shall

be done, and they do direct—simply by a hint. On this, the men act; and one and all support those who may be thrown out of work or otherwise inconvenienced. If matters were to be discussed as gentlemen seem to suppose they must be, no resolution would ever be come to. The influence of the men alluded to would soon cease if the law were repealed. It is the law and the law alone which causes the confidence of the men to be given to their leaders. Those who direct are not known to the body, and; not one man in twenty, perhaps, knows the person of anyone who directs. It is a rule among them to ask no questions and another rule among them who know most to give no answer if questioned, or an answer to mislead."

The handicraftsmen were the autocrats of labor. They were in an intermediate class between the shopkeeper and the mass of unorganized laborers or operatives in the new machine industries. The operatives and the miners were farther removed from the handicraftsmen than the docker or the agricultural laborer is removed from the cotton spinner and the miner to-day.

For example, the London hatters, coopers, curriers, compositors and shipwrights were earning the comparatively large sum of 30/—to 50/— per week, while the Lancashire weaver, or the Leicester hosier, in full competition with steam power, and its accompaniment or unregulated female and child labor, could earn, even when fully employed, barely 10/— per week.

The depression of 1816 caused a fall in wages, which was resisted by the craftsmen with the result that they were prosecuted. The law against combinations was enforced against them and they became the leaders in the movement for its repeal.

The trade clubs, friendly societies, or combinations of handicraftsmen were of great importance and assistance in the development of Trade Unions in their early stages, but in seeking to find the beginnings of Unionism, we are told by investigators that this must not be looked for in the mediaeval guild. This was essentially

under the control of the master craftsman and was supposed to be representative of the interests, not of any one class alone, but of the three distinct and somewhat antagonistic elements in modern society, the capitalist contractor and the manual worker and the consumer at large. The worker was then represented by the apprentice and the journeyman, who at that time, was always a master craftsman in embryo, and the interest of the consumer was looked after by the magistrates or town council who had a certain authority over the ordinances of the guild.

Trade Unionism began when conditions arose which denied to the worker the possibility of acquiring ownership of tools and material by an early accumulation of savings. This condition has been aptly described by Mr. J. M. Ludlow in *MacMillan's Magazine* of February 1861 as follows: "From the moment that to establish a given business, more capital is required than a journeyman can easily accumulate within a few years, guild mastership—the mastership of the masterpiece—became little more than a name. Skill alone is valueless, and is soon compelled to hire itself out to capital. Now begins the opposition of interest between employers and employed, now the latter begin to group themselves together; now rises the trade society".

This Industrial Revolution has been further described by Dr. Ingram, who wrote that "the whole modern organization of labor in its advanced forms rests on a fundamental fact which has spontaneously and increasingly developed itself—namely, the definite separation between the functions of the capitalist and the workman, or, in other words, between the direction of industrial operations and their execution in detail".

The beginnings of Trade Unionism are not found prior to 1700, when we discover isolated complaints of combinations lately entered into by skilled workers in certain trades. These complaints increased in number as the century progressed, and were met by counter accusations from the workpeople. These Trade Unions sprang, not from any particular institution, but from every opportunity for the meeting together of the wage earners of the

same trade. Adam Smith remarked that "people of the same trade seldom meet together but the conversation ends in a conspiracy against the public, or in some contrivance to raise prices".

There is actual evidence of the rise of the Consolidated Society of Bookbinders, an important union, out of the gathering of journeymen "to take a social pint of porter together". There is also the interesting development of the tramping society, which made systematic arrangements for the relief of their fellow workers tramping the country in search of work. This often developed into a National Trade Union.

A combination of the journeymen tailors of London and Westminster existed in 1720 with a membership of more than 7,000. The organization centred around 15 or 20 public houses which were used as houses of call, where considerable sums of money were collected to defend any prosecution of the workers. There was also a widespread combination of woolen workers in Devonshire and Somerset in 1717 against the wealthy clothiers who during the sixteenth century had mightily increased in fame and riches, their houses "frequently like King's Courts". The Mayor and Corporation of Bradninch complain "that for some years past the woolcombers and weavers in those parts have been confederating how to incorporate themselves into a club, and have, to the number of some thousands in the county, in a very riotous and tumultuous manner, exacted tribute from many".

The Yorkshire weaver, on the other hand was a small master craftsman. Therefore it was only in 1794, upon the establishment of factories, that we find attempts to inaugurate a union. In 1780, when the stocking makers generally worked upon rented frames, instead of owning their own frames, there arose a Union of Framework Knitters.

When the Cutlers Company was established in 1624, the typical craftsman of that trade was the owner of his own wheel and other instruments. In 1791, Parliament relaxed the laws against apprentices, and we then find the craftsmen using rented wheels and power. In 1790, the Sheffield employers took action against the scissors grinders and other workmen "who have enter-

"ed into unlawful combinations to raise the price of labor".

Upon the introduction of the factory system, which emphasized the divorce between capital and labor, Trade Unions grew rapidly. The movement was also hastened by the evasion on the part of the employers of the laws regulating wages, apprenticeship, and other matters, and by the final rescinding of these laws. Its growth was surrounded with difficulties by the passing of the Combination Acts.

During the early years of the Industrial Revolution, Parliament did not act upon any general theory or principle, for in 1773, under the pressure of rioting, it enacted laws fixing the rates of wages for the London silk weavers.

In 1776, Adam Smith published "The Wealth of Nations", and towards the end of the century, the governing classes eagerly seized upon the principle of freedom of contract and natural liberty as a justification for their new industrial policy which provided for them so great profits.

In 1808, a Committee reported against the proposal of the hand loom weavers to fix a minimum rate of wages on the ground that it was wholly inadmissible in principle, "incapable of being reduced to practice by any means which can possibly be devised, and if practicable, would be productive of most fatal consequences, and that the proposition relative to limiting the number of apprentices is also entirely inadmissible, and would, if adopted by the House, be attended with the greatest injustice to the manufacturer".

Many petitions came to the Parliament to fix wages and limit the number of apprentices. Sir Robert Peel (the elder) whose factories swarmed with boys, opposed a bill dealing with apprentices in the name of Industrial freedom, and carried the House with him.

The operatives turned to the existing laws. Unrepealed Statutes still permitted Justices to fix wages and limit the number of apprentices in certain trades. Edinburgh compositors were successful in having piece work prices fixed. The cotton weavers of Glasgow, after four or five years of Parliamentary agitation for additional

legislation resorted to a law empowering the Justices to fix the rate of wages. At the cost of £3,000, the operatives were able to have a table of piece work rates drawn up and declared reasonable by the magistrates, but they made no order enforcing them. 40,000 operatives went on strike. After three weeks, the employers were preparing to meet the workers, when the Strike Committee of the workers was arrested for the crime of combination, and the five leaders were sentenced to terms of imprisonment varying from four to eighteen months.

The clause in the Elizabethan Statute of Apprentices empowering Justices to fix wages, was repealed in 1813, being described as "pernicious".

Mr. Sidney Webb says: "In 1814, Mr. Serjeant Onslow, who had not served on the Committee of the previous session, introduced a bill to repeal the whole apprenticeship law. The Masters and Journeymen of Westminster were heard by counsel against this measure, but the House had made up its mind in favor of the manufacturers, and by the Act which it passed swept away the apprenticeship clauses of the Statute, and with them, practically the last remnant of that legislative protection of the Standard of Life which survived from the Middle Ages. The triumphant manufacturers presented Sergeant Onslow with several pieces of plate for his championship of commercial liberty".

So widely had been accepted the doctrine of the "obvious and simple, system of natural liberty", at least so far as the workers were concerned, that the operatives were regarded as innovators. A committee on the state of the woollen manufacture reported in 1806 that "the right of every man to employ the capital he inherits, or has acquired, according to his own discretion, without molestation or obstruction, so long as he does not infringe on the rights or property of others, is one of those privileges which the free and happy constitution of this country has long accustomed every Briton to consider as his birthright".

During the first twenty years of the nineteenth century, the Trade Unionists were persecuted by the law as rebels and revolutionists. This persecu-

tion drove the members into violence and sedition, but finally led to the repeal of the Combination Laws, and to the birth of modern Trade Union Laws.

The legends of the older Trade Unions include stories of the night meetings of the patriots in the corner of the field, the buried box of records, the secret oath, and the long terms of imprisonment of the leading officials.

While these legends may be true of some trades, the combinations of the journeymen of many of the older crafts were only spasmodically interfered with, and some were even recognized by law. The statutes forbidding Combinations that were in force prior to the general Combination Act of 1799, did not seek to prohibit association to secure the enforcement of the law, but only in cases where it was sought to do something which the law itself could do, such as the fixing of wages, and limiting of apprentices. At the end of the century, however, the judges were ruling that any conspiracy to do an act which they considered unlawful in a combination, even if not criminal in an individual, was against the Common Law. In 1799, the Combination Act expressly penalized all combinations whatsoever. This Bill was passed with so much rapidity—it received Royal Assent 24 days after its introduction into the House of Commons—that only one body of workers, the Journeymen Calico Printers of London, were able to protest. They represented that although the Bill professed merely to prevent unlawful combinations it created “new crimes of so indefinite a nature that no one journeyman or workman will be safe in holding any conversation with another on the subject of his trade or employment”.

Towards the end of the eighteenth century, at any rate, free bargaining between the capitalist and his workmen became the sole method of fixing wages. Then it was that the gross injustice of prohibiting combinations of journeymen became apparent. “A single master”, said Lord Jeffrey, “was at liberty at any time to turn off the whole of his workmen at once—100 to 1,000 in number—if they would not accept the wages he chose to offer. But it was made an offence for the whole of the workmen to leave that master

at once if he refused to give the wages they chose to require”.

The law also forbade combinations of employers, but “the tacit but constant combination of employers to depress wages could not be reached by law. Also the politicians regarded combinations among employers as entirely different to combinations among workmen. The first was at most an industrial misdemeanour punishable by a fine, and the employer was not forced to give evidence against himself. The second was a political crime punishable by imprisonment and the worker was compelled to give evidence against himself.

During the whole period of repression, whilst thousands of journeymen suffered imprisonment for the crime of combination, there is no case on record in which an employer was punished for the same offence.

The law was enforced in a very haphazard fashion. The English Police system was deficient, and there was no public prosecutor; therefore prosecutions were seldom undertaken unless some employer was willing to set the law in motion himself. In many cases, employers accepted or connived at their men's combinations, for example, the master printers in London recognized the “chapel”, which was the organization of the journeymen printers. In 1804, a joint committee of masters and journeymen arranged an elaborate scale of prices. The London coopers had a recognized organization in 1813, and a list of prices was arranged between its representatives and the masters. The London brushmakers, in 1805, had a list of prices agreed upon between the masters and the journeymen”.

The journeymen Calico Printers of Manchester were evidently autocratic, for their masters appealed to them in 1815 as follows: We have by turns conceded what we “ought all manfully to have resisted, and you, elated with success, have been led on from one extravagant demand to another, till the burden has become too intolerable to be borne. You fix the number of our apprentices, and oftentimes, even the number of our journeymen. You dismiss certain proportions of our hands, and will not allow others to come in

their stead... You restrict the cylinder machine and even dictate the kind of pattern it is to print... Lastly you set all subordination and good order at defiance, and instead of showing deference and respect to your employers, treat them with personal insult and contempt".

At the same time, the law was always ready at the service of the masters. In 1819, there were numerous prosecutions of cabinet-makers, hatters, iron-founders and other journeymen, nominally for leaving their work unfinished, but really for the crime of combination. Francis Place wrote in 1810 that the prosecutions of the journeymen printers employed in the "Times" newspaper were carried to an almost incredible extent... No judge took more pains that did this judge—(Sir John Sylvester, commonly known as Bloody Black Jack)—to make it appear that their offence was one of great enormity, to beat down and alarm the really respectable men who had fallen into his clutches, and on whom he inflicted scandalously severe sentences". Calico printers coach makers and scissors grinders were prosecuted and imprisoned between 1816 and 1819.

The law weighed most heavily however, upon the new textile industries. It was said of the Act of 1800 that it was "a tremendous millstone round the neck of the local artisan, which has depressed and debased him to the earth; every act which he has attempted, every measure that he has devised to keep up or raise his wages, he has been told was illegal".

Severe punishments were inflicted upon representatives of the operatives. A president and two secretaries of their union were sentenced to one and two years respectively.

I have already spoken of the skilled handicraftsman as the aristocrats of labor. It was their clubs that formed the backbone of the various central committees which dealt with the main topics of Trade Unionism.

In spite of the difference in status between the craftsmen and the operatives, there was a development of considerable working class solidarity, for example the books of the London Gold-beaters record gifts between 1810 and 1812 of £200 to fourteen trades.

In 1816, due to economic conditions following the war, there was an almost universal reduction of wages throughout the country. Masters deliberately combined to pay lower rates. This resulted in protest from the workers, combination among them, and repression. The infamous "Six Acts" of 1819 suppressed practically all public meetings, enabled the magistrates to search for arms, subjected all working class publications to the crushing stamp duty, and made more stringent the law relating to seditious libel. Repressed in every direction, the more energetic leaders turned from specific reform to seek a thorough revolution of the whole system of Parliamentary representation.

However, Francis Place turned his attention first to the repeal of the Combination Laws, and then to the Reform Movement. He was a successful master tailor, who had been a journeyman. He left the conduct of his business to his son, and devoted himself to helping the workers..

Through sagacity and extraordinary persistence, he, with the assistance of J. R. McCulloch, and Joseph Hume, secured the repeal of the obvious Combination Law. With remarkable cleverness, he and Hume packed a Committee, camouflaged the issue, secured unanimous assent to a series of resolutions favoring complete freedom of combination, and liberty emigrate, and arranged the introduction of a bill, which passed without debate or division and "almost without the notice of the members within, or the newspapers without".

An outburst of strikes followed the new found liberty of the workers. The employers were aroused, and as a consequence, a new Act was passed in 1825. Though it was not so comprehensive as the original act, it effected a real emancipation, and recognized the right of collective bargaining.

There now followed a rapid development in Trade Unions. "Such is the rage for Union Societies", reported the Sheffield Iris on July 12th, 1825, "that in Sunderland, the sea apprentices have actually had regular meetings every day last week on the moors, and have resolved not to go on board their ships

unless the owners will allow them tea and sugar".

The expectations of the workers were rudely disappointed for the year 1825 closed with a financial panic and widespread commercial disaster. Thousands of workmen were without employment, and wages were reduced everywhere.

The removal of the Combination Laws led not only to a rapid rise in Trade Unions, but to amalgamation into national societies, and to attempts at forming a complete solidarity of all wage workers in a single universal organisation. A Cotton Spinners Federation was formed in 1830, embracing all Cotton Spinners Unions, but no further record of its existence can be traced after 1831. It had apparently dwindled into a Federation of Lancashire Societies.

A General Federation of Trade Unions was attempted in 1830 by John Doherty, Secretary of the Manchester Cotton Spinners, under the name of the National Association for the Protection of Labor. The express object of the Society was to resist reductions but not to strike for advances. It was a combination of separate societies, each of which paid an entrance fee of one pound, together with one shilling for each of its members. At one time, it claimed a membership of 100,000. It did not support any strikes, it suffered from lack of funds, and expired in 1832.

An important development was the Builders' Union, or general Trades Union which embodied separate organisations of joiners, masons, bricklayers, plasterers, plumbers, painters and builders' laborers. It spread rapidly in 1832. It was dictatorial to the employers who met in 1833 to refuse the men's demand and to smash the Union. The employers insisted that all men should sign a document repudiating the Union. In the contest that followed the employers won.

Other employers also entered into the Manufacturers' Bond, by which they bound themselves under penalty to refuse employment to all members of Unions.

It is thought that other attempts were made in 1833 to form a general Union of all Trades. The Owenite newspapers are full of references to a

formation of a General Union of the Productive Classes. The Grand National Consolidated Trades Union seems to have been started in 1834 by Robert Owen. Innumerable lodges were formed, each controlling its own funds. They were urged to provide sick, funeral, and superannuation benefits for their members, and proposals were adopted to lease land on which to employ "turnouts" and to set up co-operative workshops. Within a few weeks, the membership appears to have reached half a million, including tens of thousands of farm laborers and women men.

A perfect mania for Trade Unions developed. In December 1833, we are told that scarcely a branch of trade exists in the West of Scotland that is not now in a state of Union. A thousand men in various trades were enrolled in Hull in one week. Unions were formed for shop assistants, journeymen chimney sweeps, ploughmen, shearmen, bonnet makers and so on. All were included in the Grand National Consolidated Trades Union.

The policy of this Union was to inaugurate a general strike of all wage earners, but it became involved in sectional disputes.

It was also drawn into a conflict with the law by the conviction of six Dorchester laborers in March, 1834, for the mere act of administering an oath. These laborers were sentenced to seven years transportation.

The whole machinery of the organisation was turned to the preparation of petitions and the holding of meetings of protest. A quarter of a million signatures were obtained, and 30,000 persons took part in the first of the demonstrations which have become a regular part of the machinery of London politics.

The Government refused to recognize that the punishment was excessive, and the laborers went into exile.

Further serious and unsuccessful strikes arose which depleted its resources. In July 1834, it was evident that the Grand National had been completely defeated by the employers as a result of their vigor in presenting the document.

The records of the life of the New Unionism of Amalgamation and Fede-

ration from 1830 to 1834 showed a great enlargement of the ideas of the workmen without an improvement in tactics. Mr. Sidney Webb writes: "In council, they were idealists, humanitarians, socialists, moralists; in battle, they were still the struggling half emancipated serfs of 1825, armed with the rude weapons of the strike and boycott. They dissipated their strength over wide areas, and did not recover their advantage until they concentrated their efforts on narrower and more manageable aims".

The workers and also the politicians failed to understand the immense problem that was before them. They sought relief from the crushing weight of competition under the new system of factory industry through political Democracy. Only one man—a manufacturer—Robert Owen, realised that the new conditions had developed Industrial Autocracy, and he sought a solution in co-operative ownership and control of industry answerable to the economic co-operation in all industrial processes, which had been brought about by machinery and factory organization and which had removed manufacture irrevocably from the separate firesides of independent individual producers.

The disillusionment following on the collapse of 1825, caused working class organizations to turn to social and political reform, but the Reform Bill did not give them Manhood Suffrage. After this disappointment, they were ready to listen to Robert Owen, and the acceptance of his principles resulted in the gigantic enlistments in the Grand National. Many of his ideas, which will be dealt with next week, are said to be unsound, and he looked for immediate and important results. The next six months in his view, were going to see the New Moral World really established.

As a consequence of the high hopes, and the early achievement of them promised by Robert Owen, the Trade Unions adopted a haughty attitude, and contemptuous language towards the masters, who retaliated with the presentation of the document which required the worker to repudiate the Unions, and a repressive tyranny which emphasizes their conception of the

workers as the "lower orders". In August 1834, the Grand National failing in its purpose was converted into the British and Foreign Consolidated Association of Industry, Humanity and Knowledge, having for its aim, the establishment of a new moral world by the reconciliation of all classes.

The Trade Union movement was not exhausted with the passing of the Grand National for the skilled mechanics of the printing, engineering and other trades had held aloof from the general movement. Unions in the Building Trades flourished; the Potters Union lasted until 1837, and other new Unions were begun.

After 1836, however, trade was bad, and many Unions collapsed. A general despair of constitutional reform led to the growing supremacy of the physical force section of the Chartists, and to the insurrectionism of 1839-42; but the Unions as bodies did not become involved in this movement.

Amelioration by insurrection, whether Owenite or Chartist, was fast losing favor with the working classes. Owen's economic maxims calling for the elimination of the profit maker, were being carried out in the new co-operative movement started in Rochdale in 1844, by the Rochdale Pioneers.

The new generation of workmen were absorbing the economic and political philosophy of the middle class reformer of free enterprise and unrestricted competition.

This closes the Revolutionary Period of the Trade Union movement. The next quarter of a century was devoted to the building up of the Great Amalgamated Societies of skilled artisans, with their centralized administration, friendly society benefits, and generally the substitution of Industrial Diplomacy for class war.

During the period now treated of, namely, 1843-1860, the Trade Unions were largely successful in securing their aims which were limited to building up stable organisations, and to resisting the more important of the legal and industrial oppressions from which they suffered. This may be attributed to a general spread of education, to the observance of the practical counsels, and to the prosperity of industry during the period.

A marked revival in Trade Unionism developed in 1843, and many new bodies were formed, including a strong union of miners who were just released from the serfdom of the yearly hirings, and the domination of the truck system.

The Unions began to see the need for competent Secretaries, organizers and legal assistance. The miners employed a clever solicitor named Roberts, at a salary of \$1,000 per annum. He was able to effect the defeat of a Bill introduced in 1844 for enlarging the powers of Justices in determining complaints between masters, servants and artificers.

In 1845, a new Federation of Trade Unions was formed called the National Association of United Trades for the Protection of Labor. With the experience of 1834 in mind, the larger Unions held aloof, but the smaller and less organized trades joined. Its aims were moderate—to secure an understanding between employers and employees, “seeing that their interests are mutual—to eschew propositions of a political nature, and to consider and dispose of one question at a time. It also formed a separate organisation to raise capital with which to employ men who were on strike, but this venture was not successful. Its Central Executive acted as a kind of Parliamentary Committee. It rendered valuable assistance to the Cotton Spinners Short Time Committee which secured the Ten Hours Act of 1847. Although discouraging strikes, it became involved in one in 1848 which was begun by the tinplate workers of Wolverhampton. This drained its funds and destroyed its credit. It continued in a small way for many years, its paid officers serving as advisors of minor Trade Unions.

Schemes were now undertaken for the mental improvement of the workers by arranging classes for education, libraries, and special trade journals.

In addition to discouraging strikes, efforts were made to limit the number of apprentices.

With the advent of the permanent salaried officers came the desire to improve the constitution of the various societies. A New Model was produced in the Amalgamated Society of Engineers, which became the standard for many other organisations.

On the completion of the successful amalgamation of the engineers, the executive announced the intention of the Society to put an end to piece work and systematic overtime, on December 31st, 1851. The employers refused to agree to the demands or to submit the matter to arbitration, so that a strike resulted, which lasted for three months. The men were defeated. The Executive had undertaken to support, not only its own 3,500 members, but also the 1,500 mechanics who were out and 10,000 laborers as well.

The Constitution of the Amalgamated Society was cleverly arranged. Each branch elects and controls its own local officers and funds, but everything has to be done exactly according to rules. In regard to strikes, however, the central executive has the absolute power of granting or withholding strike pay. In 1861, the Union had accumulated a balance of £73,398.

In spite of the aims of the Unions to settle differences by conciliation and arbitration, an era of strikes set in with the contraction of trade in 1857. In the lock-out in the Building Trades arising from the demand for a nine hour day, the men were successful. They received help from other Societies amounting to £23,000.

It is now right to notice the effect of the development of sound organisation, and of a salaried staff of able secretaries. It is fortunate for the Trade Union movement that some of the Secretaries were men of marked ability. Five of them, William Allan, Robert Applegarth, Daniel Guile, Edwin Coulson and George Odger constituted a little group, who, with the assistance of brilliant middle class sympathisers including Mr. Frederic Harrison, and Prof. Beesley succeeded in securing Parliamentary action of great benefit to Labor.

The distinctive policy of the Junta, as the group of Secretaries was called, was the combination of extreme caution in trade matters and energetic action for political reform. Their trade policy was restricted to securing for every workman those terms which the best employers were willing voluntarily to grant. They believed that a levelling down of all political privileges and the opening out of educational and

social opportunities to all classes of the community would bring in its train a large measure of economic equality. They were drawn into a whole series of political agitations for the Franchise, for the amendment of the Masters and Servants law, for new Mines Regulation Acts, for National Education, and for the full legislation of Trade Unions themselves.

Between 1858 and 1867 there were formed permanent Trades Councils in leading Industrial Centres. The London Council was formed in 1861. It was composed mainly of the representatives of the smaller Societies, but by 1864, the Council included the large National Societies, and particularly the members of the Junta. It acted as a Parliamentary Committee, and in 1866, enthusiastically threw itself into the demonstration in favor of the Reform Bill, in which other Trades Councils assisted. In May 1864, there assembled the first Trades Union Congress with delegates from the Provincial Councils. They met to agitate for an amendment of the Masters and Servants Act. Members of Parliament were lobbied. Mr. Cobbett introduced a Bill, but no action was taken until 1867 when the Employers and Workmen's Act replaced the Masters and Servants Act.

Owing to some defeats at the hands of the workmen, the "document" forcing the workmen to repudiate Unionism, fell into disuse with the employers, but they endeavored to subdue the Unions by frequent lock-outs. The Trade Unions formed the United Kingdom Alliance of organized trades to support those locked out, but unfortunately, the conference could not agree as to what constituted a lock-out. Meantime, a sensation was caused by the explosion of a can of gunpowder in a workman's house in Sheffield.

This outrage caused a demand for an investigation to which the Unions agreed. The Government was quite ready and appointed a Commission to enquire into outrages for ten years past. The investigation was also to be wide enough to embrace the whole of Trade Unionism and its effects.

Again the movement found itself at the bar of a Parliamentary enquiry

when public opinion was aroused against it.

In addition to this, a judicial decision held that the Unions could not proceed against defaulting officials under the Friendly Societies' Act, so that their large funds were at the mercy of the officials.

The Junta called for the aid of its middle class friends. Frederic Harrison and Thomas Hughes were appointed to the Commission, and permission was granted for representative Trade Unionists to be present during the examination of witnesses. Investigation was concentrated on the large Unions, which were occupied with insurance, the maintenance of the standard Rate of Wages, and Standard Hours of Labor. It was shown that the outrages were committed spasmodically by members of small Unions, and were not countenanced by the larger Unions. The successful presentation of the case of the Trade Unions resulted in a changed attitude on the part of the governing class which was expressly attributed to the "greater knowledge" and wider experience which had been gained through the Royal Commission.

It made no recommendations, however, that would improve the condition of the Unions, but the minority report signed by Harrison, Hughes and the Earl of Linchfield laid down in general terms the principles upon which future legislation should proceed.

Mr. Frederic Harrison had urged upon the Unions the necessity of turning to the polling booths for success, and on the passing of the Reform Bill of 1867, which enfranchised the working man in the Boroughs, a circular was issued urging upon the Trade Unionists, the importance of registering as electors.

A Bill was introduced and passed legalizing Unions, but it included restrictive clauses against picketting. The Trade Unions objected, but the utmost they could secure was the embodiment of the criminal clauses in a separate Criminal Law Amendment Bill in 1871. This Act was repealed in 1875.

The Trade Unionists numbering more than 1,100,000 organised workmen played a considerable part in the election of 1874, and it is said that they did much to defeat Gladstone because of

his refusal to deal with the Criminal Law Amendment Act. In this election, thirteen Labor candidates went to the poll, and two were elected.

Whilst the Junta was winning political victory in London, the centre of gravity of Trade Unionism was being shifted to the Industrial districts north of the Humber, due principally to the rapid growth of the Federation of Coalminers and Cotton operatives.

It is notable that more form and order was introduced into Trade Union conferences, particularly at that of the Miners at Leeds in 1863. The delegates were divided into three sections—on law, on grievances, and on social organization. It sought to secure the Standard of Life by means of legislative regulation of the conditions of work, which included the eight hour day. It endeavored to remedy the unscrupulous practice of the coalminers of condemning a certain percentage of the men's tubs or hutches as being improperly filled, thus escaping payment for part of the coal hewn. An Act was passed in 1860 empowering the miners in each pit to appoint a checkweigher. The Masters made every attempt to avoid compliance with the law. These checkweighers eventually became a source of supply of Trade Union secretaries.

There arose also at the time the skillful calculators of prices for the cotton operatives, who had to deal with the intricate and voluminous cotton lists, which were beyond the comprehension of the ordinary operative or manufacturer. The Bolton Spinning List covered 85 pages closely filled with figures.

In 1872, the Factory Acts Reform Association was established to secure a reduction of the hours of labor from 60 to 54 hours per week. It cleverly decided to press for the ostensibly for women and children, knowing that any success would bring an equivalent shortening of hours for men. In 1875, an Act was passed making legal a 56½ hour week.

Trade Unions were successful, not only in politics but in collective bargaining with employers. In 1871-72 a nine hour day was secured in any trades by strikes or threats of strikes.

There was much criticism of the Junta for apathy in trade matters, and for failure to encourage strikes. There were

also difficulties in the Amalgamated Society of Engineers due to the overlapping of trades.

Furthermore, the clerical staff was insufficient, so that the executive council had to spend a large part of its time upon the care of its funds.

The remarkable energy and success of the United Society of Boiler makers and Iron shipbuilders, both in their friendly benefits, and their collective bargaining, was due to an adequate and expert staff.

The tendency of some of the large societies to specialize in insurance benefits leading to a desire for the exclusion of certain trades, and also the difficulties of demarcation between trades, caused a development of other societies, which led to a sectionalism, always a cause of weakness among Trade Unions, but the effect of this want of solidarity did not become evident until a depression in trade arose in 1875.

The series of Parliamentary successes which the Unions had won, produced a feeling of triumphant elation among the leaders. In 1867, they were regarded by the public as "unscrupulous men leading a half idle life", "fattening on the contributions of their dupes". In 1875, they found themselves elected to the local school boards, to the House of Commons, even pressed by the Government to accept seats on Royal Commissions, and they were respectfully listened to in the Lobby.

In 1873, a manifesto of the employers said: "Few are aware of the extent, compactness of organisation, large resources and great influence of the Trade Unions".

The outburst of Unionism in 1873-74 rivalled that of 1933-34, and likewise reached the agricultural laborers. The National Agricultural Laborers' Union reached a membership of nearly 100,000. It presented demands of the employers, who retaliated with lock-outs but in spite of a certain sympathy from the public, the farmers eventually won.

Workshops were established once more by the Trade Unions in 1871-75 in order to enable a certain number of their members to escape wage labor, but they were again unsuccessful, and the attempt was not repeated.

As a result of arbitration conferences with employers, the leaders of many

Trade Unions began to accept the capitalists' axiom that wages must necessarily fluctuate according to the capitalists' profits, but this doctrine was objected to by some of the more thoughtful men who sought a minimum wage.

In the depression of 1875-1878, the weakness of the sectionalism of the Unions was shown, and the Unions were defeated in every direction. It has been described as a general rout. The failure of the City of Glasgow Bank ruined half a dozen Scotch Trade Unions. The Amalgamated Society of Engineers paid out in three years £1,287,596 for out of work benefit, and other Societies suffered to the same degree.

While there had been an increasing consolidation among the Unions, there was a growing differentiation of policy and interest. Each trade was working out its own industrial problems in its own way.

From 1875-79, the Trade Union movement had been dominated by a narrow particularism. From 1880-1885, the various Societies were absorbed in building up again their membership and balances. The cleavage of interest and opinion proved deeper than was suspected, and an imperfect appreciation of each others position led to a conflict between the Old Unionists and the New, which threatened to disintegrate the whole Labor movement.

The Trade Union Congress was very successful between 1871 and 1875 in securing political triumphs, but it began to be less representative of the development of Trade Unionism as such than of the social and political aspirations of its members. From 1875 to 1885, it concerned itself mainly with personal questions, and by reason of the sectionalism of its various component societies, it neglected such important questions as collective bargaining, legislative restriction, overlap, piece work lists, and so on.

Since 1871, the Trade Union Congress has annually elected a Parliamentary Committee of ten members and a secretary. These men were able organizers but accepted the economic individualism that dominated the Liberal party. They pressed for Peasant Proprietorship instead of Land Nationalisation, self governing workshops

owned by artisans instead of collective control of the means of production. They followed a policy of shrewd caution and practical opportunism.

With the exception of Employers' Liability Act, nothing seems to have called out the full energies of the leaders. While the Congress adopted payment of Election Expenses in 1883, and payment of Members of Parliament in 1884, the Parliamentary Committee omitted both these propositions from its draft, and like Mr. Gladstone, could not even bring itself to ask for free education. Its policy was "laissez faire", and it probably represented the views of the rank and file.

A change soon came about. Henry George's book, "Progress and Poverty" had a wide circulation in Great Britain in 1880 to 1882. His Single Tax on land values led to a vivid appreciation of the results of the landlords appropriation of economic rent. The Socialist party, reorganized in London between 1881 and 1883, merged the project of land nationalisation in the wider conception of an organized Democratic community, in which the collective power and income should be consciously directed to the common benefit of all. The artisan in the great industries saw his chance of being a successful employer becoming more remote every day, and that, in spite of an enormous increase in wealth production, his earnings were barely sufficient to support his family in decency and comfort.

He therefore readily accepted the new theories. Discontent arising from violent fluctuations in trade due to speculation and over production, acted as an additional incentive to adopt the new theories which received support from the results of the investigation into the social condition of the whole of London which showed that a million and a quarter people fell habitually below the poverty line.

For these evils, the opportunistic policies of Free Trade, extended suffrage and well administered Trade Unions had proved of no assistance, and all that the politicians had to offer was a further extension of the Franchise, and popular education. Cheapness of commodities was of no use to a man out of employment and education serv-

ed only to increase his discontent with existing social conditions.

The New Unionist called for aggressive action, and a substitution of an ideal of Collectivism for Individualism.

The New Unionist—the New Socialism—captured the great army of unskilled or only partially skilled labor in London and other large cities. It was also adopted by the Old Unions who now favored land nationalisation and the eight hour day. It was assisted by the remarkable success of the strikes of unskilled and unorganized workers. The women making lucifer matches went on strike in 1888 against their harsh treatment. With the financial aid of sympathisers and with the help of public opinion, they defeated the employers.

The Gas Workers and General Laborers' Union, organized in May 1899, demanded in August of the same year a reduction of hours from 12 to 8. Their demand was granted and was even accompanied by a slight increase in wages.

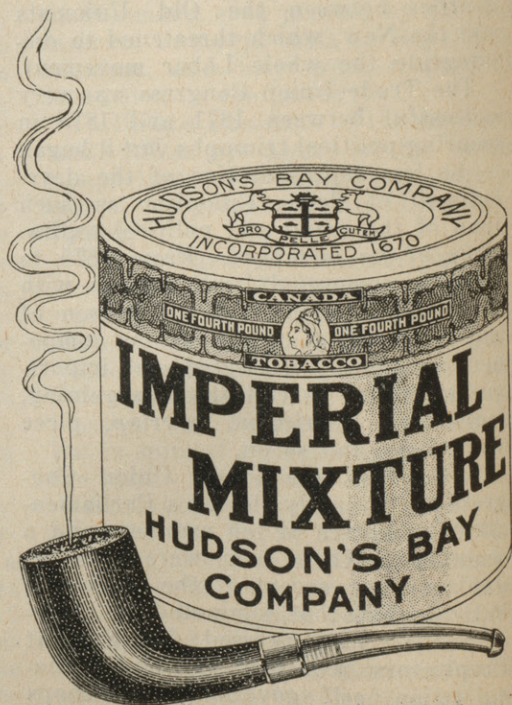
The most extraordinary success for the workers, however, was the Dockers' strike for 6c per hour extra pay overtime, and a minimum engagement of 4 hours. The membership of the Union was small, fluctuating between 300 and 2,500. It had practically no funds, but 10,000 men left work when the strike was called. \$148,736 was subscribed by the public, including \$160,000 from Australia. The men won.

Trade Unionism now spread with rapidity. The New Unionism became more active than ever, and imposed its policies on the Parliamentary Committee.

John Burns and Tom Mann began to modify their advanced Syndicalist ideas. The former was elected a member of the London County Council, and quickly found himself organising the beginnings of a bureaucratic municipal collectivism. Mann discovered the impracticability of using unemployed dockers in the production, for mutual exchange, of bread and clothing. Both realized the impossibility of bringing about any sudden change in the social or industrial organisation of the whole community, and advocated constitutional development.

"The leaders of the New Unionists sought to bring into the ranks of existing organisations — the Trade Union, the Municipality, or the State—great masses of unorganized workers, who had hitherto been either absolutely outside the pails, or inert elements within it. They aimed, not a superseding existing social structures, but at capturing them all in the interests of the wage earners". Above all, they sought to teach the great masses of un disciplined workers how to apply their newly acquired political power so as to obtain, in a perfectly constitutional manner, whatever changes in legislation or administration they desired.

In 1892, the membership of the British Trade Unions was between 1,500,000 and 1,600,000. In 1910, the number exceeded 2¼ millions with funds exceeding £16,000,000. In 1909, the position of the Trade Unions is again threatened by the Osborne judgment which decided in effect that any member of a Trade Union was entitled to restrain the Union from making a levy for the purpose of supporting the Labor party or maintaining members of



Parliament. The difficulties with which the Trade Unions were threatened as a consequence of this judgment have been removed by remedial legislation.

In recent years, Trade Unions have been successful in securing the adoption of the principle of the minimum wage for certain industries, Unemployment Insurance, and Joint Industrial Councils, all of which will be dealt with in some detail in subsequent lectures.

In Great Britain, the National bodies controlling the interests of Labor are three:

(1) The Trades Union Congress, which has no financial obligations towards the Trade Unions, unless a case occurs which raises some important legal issue of general application to the whole movement. Its political duties are limited to supporting or endorsing candidates who may be put forward by other labor bodies.

(2) The General Federation of Trade Unions, which exists for securing more effective organisation, and for gathering money into one fund, so that particular Trade Unions, in times of dispute, may receive financial support from the movement as a whole. Its functions therefore are finance and organisation.

(3) The National Labor Party, which exists for political campaigning, and the creating in Parliamentary constituencies of local bodies capable of running candidates, and of securing success at the polls.

The great majority of organized workers in Canada are in affiliation with international unions. In 1917, there were 93 international organisations having one or more local branches in Canada. They controlled 1,702 branch unions out of a total number of 1,974 in the Dominion. The total Trade Union membership was 204,630, of which only 32,343 are members of non-international organisations.

Most of the international unions are in affiliation with the American Federation of Labor.

The Trades and Labor Congress of Canada is stated to be the most representative labor organisation in the Dominion. In 1917, 47 of the more important international organisations having branches in Canada were affiliated with the Congress, representing 1,073 local branches. The Congress is recognized by the American Federation of Labor as the legislative mouth-piece of organized labor in the Dominion.

An independent Labor Party for the Province of Ontario was formed in July 1917. Subsequent to this action, the executive council of the Trades and Labor Congress recommended the organisation of an independent labor party for Canada. The recommendation was approved and the executive council authorized to take the initiatory proceedings. In November 1917, the Quebec branch of the Labor Party of Canada was formed. In the last election thirty-six candidates were recognized, three of them subsequently withdrawing. Four other candidates also contested constituencies in the Labor or Socialist interests. Only two were returned.

The Fifth Sunday Meeting Association is the representative of the individual members of the Railroads Brotherhoods numbering about 160 to 170,000 people. Its aims are:

1st.—Direct political representation of the country's workmen, those who toil by hand or brain.

2nd.—The advancement of education on a par with the most enlightened policies to be found in any part of the world.

3rd.—Methodical organization of the Dominion into political districts, where capable men—developed by the movement—may be brought forward and run for office in Dominion, Provincial or Municipal elections, backed by a carefully prepared organization to ensure success.

The American Federation of Labor is said to be the strongest Trade Union

Federation in the world, having a membership, on Sept., 30th, 1917, of 2,371,434. Its aims are as follows:

(1) To encourage the formation of local trade unions, and their federation into district, provincial, national and international bodies. The autonomy of each trade is recognized.

(2) To aid and encourage the sale of union-label goods, to secure legislation in the interests of the working people, and influence public opinion by peaceful and legal methods in favor of organized labor.

The Federation, at least until recently, has been opposed to a direct political representation, relying upon organization and the use of the strike to secure its aims. It discourages legislation fixing minimum wages and short work days, except for minors, women and public servants, as it relies upon its own power to secure these in accordance with the advance in the productiveness of modern machinery. It is not in love with the Socialists or the I. W. W.

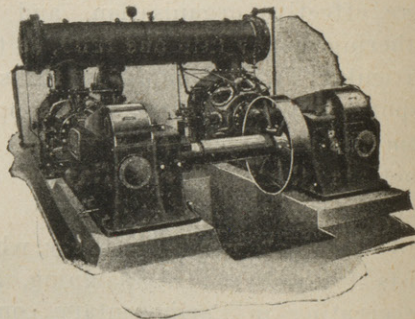
The Industrial Workers of the World have made their appeal particularly to the unskilled and radical workers. During 1917, the organization claimed a membership of 90,000. In 1915, it had three local branches in Canada, which were dissolved. Its strength in Canada lies in Alberta and B. C. It relies on "direct" action and favors sabotage.

It will be seen from this very brief statement of the present situation that the Trade Unions in Canada are following rather in the steps of their English brothers than of the American Federation.

What developments may reasonably be looked for in the coming days? The British Government has already endorsed the recommendations of the Whitley Committee on Joint Industrial

Councils, the formation of which require as complete organization as possible both on the part of employers and employees. We may therefore see an active encouragement on the part of many Governments of the world or organization in all classes of labor. Of special importance in this connexion is the fact that the present Peace Conference is contemplating international legislation on labor matters.

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INDUSTRIAL THEORIES

BEFORE outlining in this chapter the principles or ideals which have been adopted in certain quarters as the ultimate aims of the workers, and which, when reached, are expected completely to ameliorate conditions, I feel that I should make a rough sketch of some of the conditions surrounding the worker of to-day, and of the growing disparity between the rewards accruing to the owners of the means of production, and those enjoyed by the worker.

In the opening chapter of his "Progress and Poverty," the late Henry George asks what a scientist of the 18th century would have imagined as the results of the scientific and mechanical discoveries which we know to-day, if he could have envisioned them. Had he known that within the next century, the productive power of labour was to be increased twenty, fifty, a hundred fold, he would have come to no other conclusion than that this increased power to produce the necessities of life would result in abolishing all poverty, and in lightening men's toil almost to the extent of making their lives a perpetual holiday from manual work. But writing fifty years after the harnessing of steam power to new machinery, John Stuart Mill said it was doubtful if all our labour saving machinery had lightened the day's toil of a single individual. It is likely that although the percentage of those who are in poverty to-day is less than before, the actual number of people in this condition is greater than at any previous time of our industrial history. The advantages arising from scientific discoveries and mechanical inventions, have accrued in far greater measure to a small section of the people owning the means of production than to the masses of the people.

In 1891, it was found that 32 per cent of the whole population of London (in some large districts over 60 per cent) were living in a state of chronic poverty.

In the midst of this condition, the national wealth was increasing rapidly.

In his book "National Progress in Wealth and Trade," Professor Bowley, Teacher of Statistics in the University of London says that the estimate of the national income of the United Kingdom as being £1,600,000,000 in 1891 has never been seriously questioned. From that basis he estimated that the total in 1903 would be very little short of £2,000,000,000. Following the method adopted by Professor Bowley of estimating the increase from the increase in population and the amount of income observed by the Inland Revenue Commissioners, it would appear that in 1911, the total national income would be in the neighborhood of £2,250,000,000. The capital wealth of Great Britain was increasing at the rate of £200,000,000 annually. One half of the national income was enjoyed by one-ninth of the population. In a lecture delivered in May 1911, Professor Bowley estimated that about 8,000,000 men are employed in regular occupations in the United Kingdom, and that their full weekly wages when in ordinary work were as follows: 4 per cent under 15/-; 8 per cent between 15/- and 20/-; 20 per cent between 20/- and 25/-; 21 per cent between 25/- and 30/-; 21 per cent between 30/- and 35/-; 13 per cent between 35/- and 40/-; 7 per cent between 40/- and 45/-; and 6 per cent over 45/-. Thirty-two per cent of the number earn, according to this estimate, less than 25/- per week.

An illustration of the distribution of wealth will be found in the statement that of 700,000 persons who died in 1910, five millionaires left more than all the rest put together.

This unequal distribution of income and wealth implies considerable poverty, the effects of which are shown in defective national health. It is stated that the infantile death-rate in the working class quarters of an industrial town is from one and a half to two and a half times that of the infantile death-rate in the quarters of the richer classes. Figures supplied by Dr. Dukes to the Commission on Physical Training in Scotland show, that when fully

grown, the children of the working classes are about $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches shorter, and 16 pounds lighter, on the average, than the children of the well-to-do. In the five years 1904-1908, no less than 107,000 recruits for the Army were rejected as being unfit.

Poverty results in over-crowding. It is stated that the three important towns of Newcastle, Gateshead and Sunderland had, at the census of 1901, over 30 per cent of the population living in a state of overcrowding. In Glasgow 54 per cent of the population were living more than two persons to one room and in Dundee, 49 per cent. Sixteen per cent of the whole population of Glasgow were living in one-roomed tenements. Dr. Leslie Mackenzie has published the results of his examination of children from these one-roomed tenements in Glasgow. He examined 72,857 children, and discovered that the average height of a boy from a one-roomed tenement was 4.7 inches below that of a boy coming from a four-roomed tenement. It is possible that a similar investigation here would yield startling results.

Unemployment also, is always present. Over a number of years, 5 per cent of the organized workers are, on the average unemployed. The lowest percentage for the United Kingdom is $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent, giving a regular unemployed army of 350,000 persons.

One half of the workers who reach the age of 65 were dependent on the poor law, and a large proportion of the others were supported by their children and friends.

It has been stated of the United States, that more than seven-eighths of the wealth is owned by less than 1 per cent of the population, and one-half of the income goes to one-tenth of the people.

In the London Times of August 28th, 1908, it was stated that in fairly prosperous times, there are at least 10 million—some careful statisticians say 15 to 20 million—people in America who are always underfed and poorly housed and of these, 4,000,000 are public paupers. Little children to the number of 1,700,000 who should be at school, are wage-earners. One in every ten in New York who die has a pauper's burial; at

the present ratio of deaths from tuberculosis, 10,000,000 now living will succumb to that disease; 60,463 families in Manhattan, New York, were evicted from their homes in 1903."

On the other side, we have a picture of the growing national wealth in the following figures compiled by the Census Bureau at Washington: The total wealth in 1850 was seven billion dollars; in 1870, it was twenty-four billions; in 1900 eighty-eight billions and in 1904, one hundred and seven billion dollars.

In brief, there is a growing tendency for wealth to become highly concentrated, which is probably due to the fact that the share of the national income which arises from rent and profit increases both in amount and in proportion, whilst, even if the wages of the manual workers increase, there is also a corresponding increase in the cost of living which makes saving difficult.

The social problems that have developed as a result of the conditions described, are occupying the attention of a large number of people and organizations. Many societies have been formed to deal with specific questions; the Universities and the Churches are showing a keen interest and in contradistinction to their previous attitude of confining themselves to attempts at palliating the results, or of finding the causes of poverty in a personal vice or defect, such as drink, or thriftlessness, they are beginning to recognize the essential unity of all social questions and are seeking for the primary causes.

Many are beginning to see that the defects are to be found in the present structure of our industrial system, and as a consequence much legislation, essentially of a socialistic nature has been passed, although those supporting it would deny emphatically any adherence to the principles of Socialism.

I said in my introductory chapter that the development which had become most evident as a result of the war, was the intention on the part of the workers and soldiers, that for the future in industry, a due and proper regard for human rights must take precedence over all other considerations, and for the purpose of bringing such a

condition about, many theories were being widely considered. Some of these theories are unsound, some may be premature, but in order that our progress may be along staple lines—and progress of some kind we cannot stop—we must consider all theories, all ideas, so that we may be able to understand them, and determine which are sound, and which are applicable to our present conditions. I shall therefore proceed to outline some of these theories.

SOCIALISM

It is well that we should understand what Socialism means. Therefore, I shall give one or two definitions: It has been defined as "that policy or theory which aims at securing by the action of the central democratic authority a better distribution, and in due subordinate thereto a better production, of wealth than now prevails."

John Stuart Mill said: "The social problem of the future, we considered to be how to unite the greatest individual liberty of action with a common ownership in the raw materials of the globe, and an equal participation of all in the blessings which come from combined labour." It may be added that many socialists today look rather for equality of opportunity than for an exact equality of distribution.

Another definition is the following: "The economic quintessence of the Socialistic programme, the real aim of the individual movement is as follows: To replace the system of private capital (i. e. the speculative method of production, regulated on behalf of society only by the free competition of private enterprise) by a system of collective capital, that is, by a method of production which would introduce a unified (social or collective) organization of national labour, on the basis of collective or common ownership of the means of production by all the members of the society. This collective method of production would remove the present competitive system, by placing under official administration such departments of production as can be managed collectively (socially or co-operatively) as well as the distribution among all of the common produce of all, according to the amount and social

utility of the productive labour of each."

By capital is to be understood land as well as the instruments of production, and the floating capital necessary for carrying on the work of production.

Socialists state that it is a fallacy to suppose that they seek to abolish capital or wealth. They aim to preserve it, to increase it, and to concentrate it for greater social utility. They propose to abolish private ownership in land, and in such industries as can be managed collectively. Economic rent, that is the value given to land by the growth of the community, should belong to the State. Economic rent is a social product, the creation of labour. Profit and interest on capital is also the product of labour; it is the unearned income. Therefore, if the best way to appropriate rent is to nationalize land, the source, they argue that the best way in which to appropriate unearned income from capital, is to nationalize capital, the source.

A socialist writes: "The capitalist system is indefensible on moral grounds. It injures those who conduct its operations, and those who are brought within the influence of these operations. The system of capitalism is immoral because it places one man in another man's power to be used as a means to one's selfish ends. The private ownership of industrial capital is morally wrong because it is not in harmony with the essential conditions of a healthy social life. Unhealthy industrial and social conditions spring from the want of harmony and co-operation between things which are essentially and vitally connected. Just as there must be co-operation between all the parts of the human body if physical health is to be enjoyed, so there must be co-operation between all the different parts of the industrial system. It is to the lack of co-operation in certain parts of the industrial system that Socialists attribute the evils and inequalities which exist in society."

As to the precise way in which these aims will be attained, it is stated that the intelligent socialist leaves this to the wisdom and knowledge of the future. The details and methods will be

determined largely by the form which the great industrial operations assume in the process of evolution, and by the political ideas which will prevail in the further stages of the transition period.

There are many kinds of Socialists. They agree upon the causes of the present troubles, namely in stating that the poverty of the workers is caused by the private ownership of land and capital, and all aim, in one way or another to give them a direct interest in their work, and some share in the ownership of the business in which they work. The methods of achieving their aims, and in some particulars the aims themselves differ, so that in some respects they represent conflicting or opposing movements.

It is stated that all Socialists are now agreed that the economic changes that are aimed at must be brought about by political action.

Mr. Sidney Webb says that there can be no doubt that the progress towards Socialism will be (1) Democratic—that is, prepared for in the minds of the people, and accepted by them; (2) Gradual—causing no dislocation of industry however rapid the progress may be; (3) Moral—that is, not regarded by the sense of the community as being immoral; (4) Constitutional—that is, by legal enactment sanctioned by a democratic Parliament.

Whether politicians describe themselves as Socialists or not, much legislation leading towards the achievement of the aims of the Socialists is being enacted in all countries. It is stated that the taxation of the rents of the landlords, and the profits of the capitalists, the interference by the State with the way in which landlords and capitalists use their land and capital, the increasing use of the powers of the State to raise the standard of life of the people, and the acquisition by the community of services previously owned and conducted by private enterprise, are movements which are being assisted by all parties, and against which, on principle, no political party raises a definite protest, though parties do protest against the adoption of these principles in particular forms which they think are likely to affect their personal interests.

It is further stated that in the United Kingdom very considerable advance has been made along this "four-fold path to Socialism" as it was once described by Mr. Sidney Webb. It would not be true to say that this policy was embarked upon as the outcome of a settled theoretic conviction that it should be the deliberate aim of constructive statemanship to pursue it. The policy has been rather forced upon Parliament by the pressing necessity of intolerable and often inhuman conditions. There has been no coherence in this policy. The reforms have been adopted one by one, not as deliberate steps to a definite goal, but as reforms which seemed worth adopting. It is said that with the growth of conscious Socialist opinion and its increasing influence in politics, a policy which has had indefinite, haphazard and empirical expression will become the definite and logical aim of politics.

The first of the four ways along the four-fold road mentioned by Mr. Sidney Webb is to be sought by the constantly increasing interference by the State with the unrestricted individual use of land and capital. The second line of progress is by legislation which aims at raising the standard of life of the workers, and at making provision for sickness, misfortune, old age and unemployment. The third way is by the taxation of the rents of the landlord, and the profits of the capitalist. The fourth method is by gradually superseding private enterprise by the public ownership and management of productive works and distributive and transport services.

Socialism although properly a wide and embracing term is now most frequently used to indicate generally those theories that call for a centralized democratic control of production through such bodies as the State and the municipalities. There is some variety in aims and means. The chief school with a definite policy is that of the Collectivists or State Socialists whose aims are enunciated in "Labour and the New Social Order" which is the platform of the British Labour Party. This will be dealt with a little later.

Socialism is as old as history. We

have it in Plate's Republic which would not please the ladies of today, as women are regarded as chattels; in More's Utopia, in Campanella's "City of the Sun," and in many other dreams. Modern Socialism began in about 1816 both in France and in England. French Socialism was philosophic, whereas English Socialism was more directly the creation of Industrialism. In England, Robert Owen was the first man to develop practical working schemes. As these ultimately took the form of co-operation, they will be dealt with under that heading. Numerous Socialistic developments have taken place in Great Britain, as already stated, without any conscious acceptance on the part of the legislators of the principles of Socialism itself, such as State and Municipal ownership, Factory Acts, Mines and Truck Acts, Minimum Wage Legislation, Unemployment and Sickness Insurance, Old Age Pensions, and so on.

Many objections to State Socialism are made by the moderate anarchists—the opponents of State control. A strong central government to which all power was given over all the chief industries in the country would, they say, be contrary to liberty. Our leaders would be too likely to become again our masters. Supervision would become irksome. Great powers would be a temptation to abuse of power. A democracy with a strong central government would need to leave much to its chosen guardians, and to retain the same men in the position of guardians till they fully learned the difficult business of their offices but this in the end means either what we have now, a government by elected leaders who, once elected, consult our wishes only on rare occasions, or a government by permanent officials, which means liberty to go on in the old ways but great fear and jealousy of new ways, in fact, order without progress, no liberty of change.

Anarchism

Prince Kropotkin says of Anarchism that it is the name given to a principle or theory of life and conduct under which society is conceived without Government—harmony in such Society

being obtained, not by submission to law, or by obedience to any authority, but by free agreements concluded between the various groups, territorial and professional, freely constituted for the sake of production and consumption as also for the satisfaction of the infinite variety of needs and aspirations of a civilized being. In a society developed on these lines, the voluntary associations which already now begin to cover all the fields of human activity would take a still larger extension so as to substitute themselves for the state in all its functions. They would represent an interwoven network composed of an infinite variety of groups and federations of all sizes and degrees, local, regional, national and international—temporary more or less permanent—for all possible purposes; production, consumption and exchange, communications, sanitary arrangements education, mutual protection, defence of the territory and so on; and on the other side, for the satisfaction of an ever-increasing number of scientific, artistic, literary and sociable needs. Moreover, such a society would represent nothing immutable. On the contrary—as is seen in organic life at large—harmony would (it is contended) result from an ever-changing adjustment and readjustment of equilibrium between the multitude of forces and influences, and this adjustment would be the easier to obtain as none of the forces would enjoy a special protection from the state."

It is also stated that there is a close affinity between the older school of co-operators and Anarchism, which is popularly regarded as a movement for the overthrow of society by revolution. There are two distinct schools of Anarchists, the Individual Anarchists and the Anarchist Communists. The Individual Anarchists do not believe in the use of force on the ground that "Liberty is the mother of order." They believe in the abolition of the State, and of all repressive laws which interfere with the full liberty of the individual to do anything which is intrinsically ethical. The State is defined as "the embodiment of the principle of invasion in an individual or band of individuals, assuming to act as repre-

sentatives or masters of the entire people within a given area." These Anarchists are not opposed to organized protection and resistance to crime and aggression but they want full freedom for the individual to do as he wills provided that he does not interfere with the equal freedom of others. They would have no compulsory taxes, no compulsory education, no interference with individual action in trading, no regulation of hours of labour; in fact, none of that repressive and invasive legislation which is now the main work of Parliaments. There is little difference between the Philosophic Anarchists, and the Spencerian Individualists. The single taxers are also of the same school, though they differ in calling for the imposition of taxes on land. These Anarchists are opposed to violence as a means of overthrowing the existing State. They trust to education.

The Anarchist Communists agree with the other school in repudiating the State. They assume a race of individuals who will be moral from habit, and who will need neither compulsion nor restraint to do the right thing. They state that men are to be moralized only by placing them in a position which shall continue to develop in them those habits which are social, and to weaken those which are not so. A morality which is instinctive is the true morality." Prince Kropotkin is an adherent. This school of anarchists would have production in common and free consumption of all the products of the tribulation would be organized and carried on by groups and federations, the free organization ascending from the simple to the complex. The deeds of violence which have been committed by Anarchists have been done by men who belong to this school, principally in retaliation for repression.

Stated simply, but possibly not quite correctly because of the variations in the different schools, Anarchism differs from State Socialism in that it repudiates control by the State, conceding this to voluntary associations of individuals, whereas the State Socialist aims at an increasing control by the State over the activities of life as they become fit for it with the purpose that

a more equitable distribution be achieved by be achieved.

Anarchism is said to be the father of Syndicalism; Trade Unionism its mother. This will be dealt with later.

Many communistic settlements have been established. They have been numerous in the United States. Particulars as to these can be found in Morris Hillquit's "History of Socialism in the U. S. A."

Of Anarchism, it is said that "when at all rational, it resolves the State into its component municipalities and small groups. The question which carries us beyond anarchism is how such groups can last and be secure without a central state. They would only be so on the assumption of a change in human nature of which there is no sign."

Co-Operation

Co operation is one of the earliest forms of modern practical social movement in its widest sense. In 1816, Robert Owen laid before a Committee of the House of Commons his proposals for the establishment of Industrial communities. He developed his ideas as a result of his experience of the Industrial Revolution. He was a successful cotton manufacturer, and was distressed at the poverty and suffering caused by the factory system, and at the idea that human life should be sacrificed to the production of wealth. His first efforts were philanthropic. In 1834, he wrote to the "Times": "For twenty-nine years, we did without the necessity for magistrates of lawyers, without a single legal punishment, without any known poor's rate, without intemperance, and without religious animosities. We reduced the hours of labour, well educated all the children from infancy, improved the condition of the adults, paid interest upon capital, and cleared upwards of £300,000 profit."

He was one of the first men to see that the troubles of the worker arose from the new industrial autocracy, and that they could only be remedied by the evolution of an industrial democracy, and not by a patchwork system of philanthropic and ameliorating legislation. He recommended the establishment of communities on the same system as was suggested by a Frenchman

named Fourier, who proposed the organization of small communities of 400 families or 1800 persons living on a square league of land. They were to be self-supporting and self-sustained. Owen established three of these schemes, but they failed as have all other Utopian schemes that have ignored the warnings of history, that "most progress comes by orderly evolution, or as a result of the absorption of ideas by a majority of individuals."

The following description by Francis Place outlines probably with fair accuracy, the Owenite propaganda: "The non-essential doctrines preached by Robert Owen and others respecting communities and goods in common; abundance of everything man ought to desire, and all for four hours labour out of twenty-four; the right of every man to his share of the earth in common; and his right to whatever his hands had been employed upon; the power of masters under the present system to give just what wages they pleased; the right of the labourer to such wages as would maintain him and his in comfort for eight or ten hours labour; the right of every man who was unemployed to employment and to such an amount of wages as have been indicated — and other matters of a similar kind which were continually inculcated by the working men's political unions, by many small knots of persons, printed in small pamphlets and handbills which were sold twelve for a penny and distributed to a great extent—had pushed politics aside—among the working people. The consequence was that a very large proportion of the working people of England and Scotland became persuaded that they had only to combine to compel, not only a considerable advance of wages all round, but employment for every one, man and woman, who needed it, at short hours."

"Under the system proposed by Owen," says Mr. Sidney Webb, "the instruments of production were to become the property, not of the whole community, but of the particular set of workers who used them. The Trade Unions were to be transformed into 'national companies' to carry on all the manufactures. Each trade was to be carried on by its particular Trade

Union, centralised in one 'Grand Lodge.' This is akin to the modern Syndicalist ideas."

Of these proposals, Mr. Sidney Webb writes further: "The modern Socialist proposal to substitute the officials of the municipality or state was unthinkable at a period when all local governing bodies were notoriously inefficient and corrupt, and Parliament practically an oligarchy." He continues: "In the 'Trades Union' as he (Owen) conceived it, the mere combination of all the workmen in a trade as co-operative producers no more abolished commercial competition than a combination of all the employers in it as a Joint Stock Company. In effect, his Grand Lodges would have been simply the head offices of huge Joint Stock Companies owning the entire means of production in their industry, and subject to no control by the community as a whole. They would therefore have been in a position, at any moment, to close their ranks, and admit fresh generations of workers only as employees at competitive wages instead of as shareholders, thus creating at one stroke, a new capitalist class and a new proletariat.... Finally there would have come a competitive struggle between the Joint Stock Unions to supplant one another in the various departments of industry."

It is of interest to examine the modern principles of the co-operative movement which has been so successful in Great Britain. Although started in a small way early in the nineteenth century, it was not until the Rochdale Pioneers came into the field in 1844, that it took shape as a stable and a continuously progressive movement. Its development was much assisted by the propaganda of Robert Owen. The aims of the movement are outlined in the preface to the "Manual for Co-operators," written by the late Judge Hughes. It is stated that the "aim of the English Co-operative Union is, like that of Continental Socialism, to change fundamentally the present social and commercial system. Its instrument for this purpose, as well as theirs, is association. Here, however, the likeness ends. Our co-operators, thanks to their English training, do not ask the State

to do anything for them, beyond giving them a fair field, and standing aside while they do their own work in their own way. They want no State aid — they would be jealous of it if it were offered. They do not ask that the State shall assert its right, and reclaim all land and other national wealth for the benefit of all; they want no other man's property, but only that they shall not be hindered in creating new wealth for themselves."

It is said that this statement fairly represents the attitude of the co-operators of a generation ago to Socialism; but in recent years the co-operative movement has undergone a considerable change, and most of its leaders today see that voluntary co-operation can never realize the co-operative ideal of "the elimination of competitive industrial system and the substitution of mutual co-operation for the common good as the basis of all human society." These are the words used to describe the ideal of the co-operative movement in an official publication of the Co-operative Union issued in 1904, twenty-three years after the issue of the Manual by Judge Hughes.

"The annual Congresses of the co-operative movement it was stated in 1913, are now concerned largely with political matters, and the question of the direct representation of co-operators in Parliament has often been considered. The co-operators now see that industry has assumed such a form, and the unit of private capital has become so large, that if the principle of co-operation is to be applied to such industries, it can only be by means of the State or the municipality. In July 1900, Mr. W. Maxwell, the President of the Scottish Wholesale Co-operative Society, gave evidence before a Committee of the Lords and Commons on Municipal Trading. He had been appointed to do so by the Parliamentary Committee of the Co-operative Union. His evidence was a powerful plea for the extension of municipal trading; and in reply to a question as to the effect which the extension of municipal trading might have on co-operative trading he said: "I would like to express my opinion (which I believe is the opinion of the Parliamentary Committee I rep-

resent here, and of the leading co-operators) that it is only an extension of the same principle—of the people doing for themselves what other people have been doing for them; and if the municipality could carry it on better than the co-operatives, they would be willing to withdraw if it were changed to the municipality."

It is stated that the co-operative movement of Great Britain, while believing that there is still a vast field of opportunity for voluntary co-operation is with the Socialists in looking to the State and municipality to eliminate competition, and to substitute co-operation in the great industries and monopoly services. On the Continent of Europe, the Co-operative movement and the Socialist movement are practically identical. In Belgium, particularly, where the co-operative movement is very strong, there is the closest connection between the two.

Modern industrial principles follow generally three main paths.

First, as already stated, there is the Collectivist principle advocating nationalization and municipalization by which the State would become both the owner and the controller of the means of production. This is also termed the Liberal, Labour or Fabian socialist policy.

Then there is the Syndicalist who proposes, or at one time proposed, that both the ownership and the control of the means of production shall be with the workers. This theory was developed first in France and is represented in the United States by the I. W. W. It has not much hold in England. It is an offshoot from anarchism.

The third proposal is that of the National Guildsmen who advocate that the State representing the consumers shall own the means of production, but that the workers shall control and operate these means of production through National Guilds representing each industry, and a Guild Congress, being a Parliament of Guilds.

Collectivism

The working out of the first of these principles is shown in the official platform of the British Labour Party, which is described in their publication entitled "Labour and the New Social

Order." I will quote some extracts from this:

"It behoves the Labour Party, in formulating its own programme for Reconstruction after the war, and in criticising the various preparations and plans that are being made by the present Government, to look at the problem as a whole. We have to make clear what it is that we wish to construct. It is important to emphasize the fact that, whatever may be the case with regard to other political parties, our detailed practical proposals proceed from definitely held principles.

"What we now promulgate as our policy, whether for opposition or for office, is not merely this or that specific reform, but a deliberately thought out, systematic, and comprehensive plan for that immediate social rebuilding which any Ministry, whether or not it desires to grapple with the problem, will be driven to undertake. The Four Pillars of the House that we propose to erect, resting upon the common foundation of the Democratic control of society in all its activities, may be termed respectively:

(a) The Universal Enforcement of the National Minimum;

(b) The Democratic Control of Industry;

(c) The Revolution in National Finance; and

(d) The Surplus Wealth for the Common Good.

The various detailed proposals of the Labour Party, herein briefly summarized, rest on these four pillars, and can best be appreciated in connection with them.

The Universal Enforcement of a National Minimum

The first principle of the Labour Party—in significant contrast with those of the Capitalist System, whether expressed by the Liberal or by the Conservative Party—is the securing to every member of the community, in good times and bad alike (and not only to the strong and able, the well-born or the fortunate), of all the requisites of healthy life and worthy citizenship. This is in no sense a "class" proposal. Such an amount of social protection of the individual, however poor and lowly, from birth to death, is, as the econo-

mist now knows, as indispensable to fruitful co-operation as it is to successful combination; and it affords the only complete safeguard against that insidious degradation of the Standard of Life, which is the worst economic and social calamity to which any community and every one of us, whether members one of another. No man liveth to himself alone. If any, even the humblest, is made to suffer, the whole community and every one of us, whether or not we recognize the fact, is thereby injured. Generation after generation this has been the corner-stone of the faith of Labour. It will be the guiding principle of any Labour Government.

The Democratic Control of Industry

What the Labour Party looks to is a genuinely scientific reorganization of the nation's industry, no longer deflected by individual profiteering, on the basis of the Common Ownership of the Means of Production; the inequitable sharing of the proceeds among all who participate in any capacity and only among these, and the adoption, in particular services and occupations, of those systems and methods of administration and control that may be found, in practice, best to promote, not profiteering, but the public interest.

Immediate Nationalisation

The Labour Party stands not merely for the principle of the Common Ownership of the nation's land, to be applied as suitable opportunities occur, but also, specifically, for the immediate Nationalisation of Railways, Mines and the production of Electrical Power. We hold that the very foundation of any successful reorganization of British Industry must necessarily be found in the provision of the utmost facilities for transport and communication, the production of power at the cheapest possible rate and the most economical supply of both electrical energy and coal to every corner of the kingdom. Hence the Labour Party stands, unhesitatingly, for the National Ownership and Administration of the Railways and Canals, and their union, along with Harbours and Roads, and the Posts and Telegraphs—not to say also the great lines of steamers which could at once be owned, if not imme-

diately directly managed in detail, by the Government—in a united national service of Communication and Transport; to be worked, unhampered by capitalist, private or purely local interests (and with a steadily increasing participation of the organised workers in the management, both central and local), exclusively for the common good. If any Government should be so misguided as to propose, when peace comes, to hand the railways back to the shareholders, or should show itself so spendthrift of the nation's property as to give these shareholders any enlarged franchise by presenting them with the economics of unification or the profits of increased railway rates; or so extravagant as to bestow public funds on the re-equipment of privately-owned lines — all of which things are now being privately intrigued for by the railway interests — the Labour Party will offer any such project the most strenuous opposition. The railways and canals, like the roads, must henceforth belong to the public, and to the public alone.

The Labour Party demands that the production of Electricity on the necessary gigantic scale shall be made from the start (with suitable arrangements for municipal co-operation in local distribution) a national enterprise, to be worked exclusively with the object of supplying the whole kingdom with the cheapest possible Power, Light and Heat.

The Labour Party demands the immediate nationalisation of mines, the extraction of coal and iron being worked as a public service (with a steadily increasing participation in the management, both central and local, of the various grades of persons employed); and the whole business of the retail distribution of household coal being undertaken, as a local public service, by the elected Municipal or County Councils. And there is no reason why coal should fluctuate in price any more than railway fares, or why the consumer should be made to pay more in winter than in summer, or in one town than another. What the Labour Party would aim at is, for household coal of standard quality, a fixed and uniform price for the whole kingdom,

payable by rich and poor alike, as unalterable as the penny postage-stamp.

Control of Capitalist Industry

The people will be extremely foolish if they ever allow their indispensable industries to slip back into the unfettered control of private capitalists, who are, actually at the instance of the Government itself, rapidly combining, trade by trade, into monopolist Trusts, which may presently become as ruthless in their extortion as the worst American examples. Standing as it does for the Democratic Control of Industry the Labour Party, would think twice before it sanctioned any abandonment of the present profitable centralisation of purchase of raw material; of the present carefully organized "rationing," by joint committees of the trades concerned, of the several establishments with the materials they require; of the present elaborate system of "costing" and public audit of manufacturers' accounts, so as to stop the waste heretofore caused by the mechanical inefficiency of the more backward firms; of the present salutary publicity of manufacturing processes and expenses thereby ensured; and, on the information thus obtained (in order never again to revert to the old-time profiteering) of the present rigid fixing, for standardized products, of maximum prices at the factory, at the warehouse of the wholesale trader, and in the retail shop. This question of the retail prices of household commodities is emphatically the most practical of all political issues to the woman elector.

A Revolution in National Finance

The Labour Party stands for such a system of taxation as will yield all the necessary revenue to the Government without encroaching on the prescribed National Minimum Standard of Life of any family whatsoever; without hampering production or discouraging any useful personal effort, and with the nearest possible approximation to equality of sacrifice.

For the raising of the greater part of the revenue now required the Labour Party looks to the direct taxation of the incomes above the necessary cost of family maintenance; and for the requisite effort to pay off the National

ebt, to the direct taxation of private fortunes both during life and at death.

The Surplus for the Common Good

One main Pillar of the House that the Labour Party intends to build is the future appropriation of the Surplus, not to the enlargement of any individual fortune, but to the Common Good. It is from this constantly arising Surplus (to be secured, on the one hand, by Nationalisation and Municipalisation and, on the other, by the steeply graduated Taxation of Private Income and Riches) that will have to be found the new capital which the community day by day needs for the perpetual improvement and increase of its various enterprises, for which we shall decline to be dependent on the usury-exacting financiers.

We do not, of course, pretend that it is possible, even after the drastic clearing away that is now going on, to build society anew in a year or two of feverish "Reconstruction." What the Labour Party intends to satisfy itself about is that each brick that it helps to lay shall go to erect the structure that it intends, and no other.

The criticism directed against Collectivism is that already mentioned in connection with Socialism, namely that it will result in the development of a bureaucracy with great powers having control over production in which the officials are not personally interested. The present defects of officialdom are well-known, and it is argued that a complete success for Collectivism would require a considerable change of heart and a large development of disinterested public spirit in the individuals who would direct.

Much State and Municipal ownership is already in effect with a fair degree of success, but students looking for a considerable amelioration in the condition of the worker claim that at present he is not materially benefitted by such State ownership. Of course the elimination of the payment of interest on State and Municipal securities is the ultimate aim, and is to be secured by graduated income taxes, and heavy inheritance taxes.

Syndicalism

Syndicalism, at least in some of its forms, repudiates the State. Originally it was based upon philosophic anarchism.

It is a little difficult to particularise the aims of the Syndicalists, because these and the means by which they are to be secured have been changed somewhat from time to time. Originally, they called for both ownership and control by the workers, but in certain quarters, some modification has been made as will be shown later. Syndicalism which in France originally meant "Unionism" acquired its present meaning between 1902 and 1906. The ideas attached to Syndicalism are however older than this.

Owing to the weakness of the Trade Union movement in France, the ban upon all forms of Association within the State imposed in 1791 was not removed until 1884 when the right of combination was formally granted, and much restrictive legislation was abolished. Even then, the right of effective picketing was not allowed. This resulted in much sabotage.

In 1887, there was formed in Paris a Bourse du Travail, or a Chamber of Labour, which was the centre of the Trade Unions of the district. Similar bodies were formed throughout the country, and they became federated in the Federation of the Bourses du Travail.

Pelloutier, the Secretary of the Federation was inspired by the Anarchist Communist idea of free association in which the control of industry by free groups of workers played an integral part. Anarchist Communism had always been strong in France. Mr. G. D. H. Cole states that "under the guidance of Pelloutier and others like him, the Bourses wholeheartedly accepted this type of Communism, only modifying it by making the local Trade Unions the future units of production and the Bourses the co-ordinating forces and units of social organization. The Society to which they looked forward was essentially Bakunin's federation of free Communes, and the workers were to be linked up nationally and internationally, not on the basis of their particular industry, but solely by a system

of local federation, having the free and independent Commune as its foundation.

Snowdon says that "syndicalism has something in common with other phases of the social movement. It proposed that the control of production shall be exercised by the workers in the various industries, that is, the railways shall be managed by the railway workers, the mines by the miners, the Post Office by the postal servants, and so with regard to other industries and services. Syndicalists have now repudiated the claim that these industries shall be owned by the workers in the separate industries. The idea seems to be that there shall be a federation of the groups and that the distribution shall be regulated in the interests of the whole body of producers by a general council representing the federated trades. Of this the Spectator says, "There is nothing whatever criminal in the essential idea. Apart from its methods, Syndicalism means no more than a form of co-operation."

The Times also says: "The root idea of Syndicalism — that of trade ownership and control — is not only unobjectionable but excellent. It was the parent of Co-operation, and will eventually be realized in co-partnership. It is by far the most rational and feasible form of Socialism."

Of the methods by which it proposes to attain its ends, Mr. Cole writes: "Wherever it manifests itself, Syndicalism has two distinct aspects. It is at once a policy of direct action in the present and a vision of the coming society. Of late years, Syndicalism in France has curiously confused two points of view, professing to repudiate all theory about the future, and to be merely a plan of campaign for immediate use, it has continually affirmed, almost in the same breath, its faith in a new industrial commonwealth based solely on organizations of producers."

There is some resemblance between Trade Unionism and Syndicalism but there are also differences. They resemble each other in that each believes in the organization of workers in their trades, and in a federation; each believes in the strike. Trade Unionism differs from Syndicalism in that it does

not repudiate the State, it believes in using Parliament, and in reaching economic emancipation by political means. Trade Unionism seeks to avoid strikes wherever possible, whereas Syndicalism relies on the power of the strike as the principal and direct means of gaining its ends.

Of Syndicalism, Mr. G. D. H. Cole writes: "If then, it be regarded as fundamentally anti-political, not merely in the sense that it holds the State of today to be only an instrument in the hands of the oppressor, but also in the sense that it aims at the entire destruction of every vestige of communal expression outside the producers' organizations themselves, Syndicalism is a theory of which no serious account need be taken. If, on the other hand, it is realized that Syndicalism only implies the satisfaction of the workers' demands to control their life and work, it remains still a vitalising force, capable of transforming Socialism into something better than a bureaucratic Collectivism. Out of it must grow a doctrine which will reconcile the conception of social solidarity which was fundamental to Communism with the development of Trade Unionism on a national basis, and at the same time preserve its insistence on the need of control, by the actual workers in each industry, of the processes of production and distribution. In short, the idea of the National Guilds is for this country, the essential parallel to Syndicalism in France. The theory of the National Guilds is the restatement of local "Syndicalism in terms of national Trade Unionism."

Guild Socialism

The National Guildsman proposes the association into a single fellowship of all those employed in any industry, including managers and clerical staff. This fellowship will be called the Guild. In contra-distinction to State Socialism or Collectivism which predicates control from without, the Guild will manage its own affairs. It will appoint its own officers from the Manager to the office boy, and will deal with other Guilds or with the State as a self contained unit. It rejects State control or bureaucracy; on the other hand, it rejects Syndicalism, because it

grants to the State the possession of the means of production and certain powers of discussion and control when the interests of the general public as consumers are involved. It will, however, maintain complete control over its internal affairs of production.

It would supplant the present capitalist on the one hand; and on the other hand, it would assume, instead of the State, complete responsibility for the material welfare of its members.

It assumes that the interests of individuals are twofold: first as producers or workers, and to conserve their interests and rewards in this direction, they would be members of guilds or equivalent professional societies, then as consumers, their interests would be looked after by national or municipal bodies.

The complete working out of this proposal would result in the interests of the individual and of the nation being controlled by two bodies, - a Parliament—having control over law, medicine, army, navy, police, foreign relations, education, central and local government and administration; protecting the safety of the individual and its interests as a consumer which are territorial: and a Guild Congress protecting his interests as a producer. Prices of commodities might be fixed for the consumer by a joint council of the Guild Congress and Parliament.

The Guild proposes the elimination of the wage system. It would maintain its members whether working or idle, whether sick or well. It would care for the old and the incapacitated. By democratic suffrage, it would control its own conditions of work, for example hours, conditions of sanitation, safety and so on.

There are many points of difficulty arising in connection with Guild Socialism with which it is obviously impossible to deal in a brief article. In order to appreciate these, the works mentioned in the bibliography should be studied.

I would, however, like to mention one or two features. It is not claimed that an absolute equality of rewards would arise, although there would, of course, be a general levelling. Mr. Orage writes: "There will be no in-

equitable distribution of Guild resources, we may be assured; democratically controlled organisations seldom err on the side of generosity. But experience will speedily teach the Guilds that they must encourage technical skill by freely offering whatever inducements may at the time most powerfully attract competent men. There are many ways by which inventive, organizing capacity, statistical aptitude, or what not may be suitably rewarded. It is certain that rewarded these qualities must be".

The Guilds would have their own Banks, with a central National Guild Bank for foreign trade. This trade would still be conducted on a Gold basis, but interanally, owing to the elimination of economic rent, interest and profit, the exchange medium would be an agreed valuation for work done whether manual, clerical, technical, professional or other. The worker could still save, but would get no interest on his savings. They would remain to his credit at the Guild Bank. Different grades of work, both within each Guild, and as between the different guilds themselves would be appraised at different values, depending upon the value of the work due to experience and training—the result of study and application—although there would be a greater levelling than prevails at present. Call the unit of payment a guilder—an engineer might receive 100 guilders per week—a scavenger 60, a miner 90. The Guilder would probably be a bill on the Guild Bank passing as currency anywhere.

It is claimed that the reward for brains as brains would be greater than at present.

The means by which the aims of the National Guildsmen are to be secured, call for complete organisation in an industry, manual and clerical, technical and managerial. The association would become a partner in the profits, exercising an increasing interference in the conduct of the business and obtaining a greater share in the profits as time passed. Elimination of private ownership would be obtained by progressively rendering investments non-productive.

Summary

Such is a hasty and an imperfect description of the various industrial theories. It is difficult to say whether many of these holding these theories expect to attain their aims within a short time. They should properly be looked upon as ultimate ideals.

Without passing any judgment upon them, let us review them in order to see in what direction present political or industrial developments are tending.

First let us take State Socialism or Collectivism as stated in Labor and the New Social Order. Briefly it aims at Nationalisation and municipalization, and at securing the ultimate elimination of private ownership by steeply graduated income and inheritance taxes. All these principles are in operation to-day in different countries in different degrees. Syndicalism, if we interpret it as aiming at the sole ownership and control of the means of production by the workers with a repudiation of the State need not be considered as practical. If it be a different

form of Guild Socialism, it may be realised in part.

Guild Socialism aiming at the ultimate control of industry by all those engaged in each industry, shows some promise of imperfect or partial achievement through the Whitley Industrial Councils and other similar industrial relationship schemes already in operation in England. Canada and the U. S. A. These schemes allow the workers through equal representation with the employers on joint industrial councils, a joint control of the productive side of industry as relating to wages, share in the prosperity of the industry, conditions of work, improvement and so on. It may, in time, supplant Collectivism, as the principle of joint control by the workers is being put into operation by the British Government in many of its own Government undertakings, and it is also being applied in municipal activities. The practical operation of these joint industrial councils will be dealt with next week in the next chapter on Co-operative and profit sharing schemes, and Whitley Industrial Councils.

We are unable to complete the series of articles on Reconstruction in this issue. They will be continued in the subsequent weekly issues of the *Railroader*.—EDITOR.

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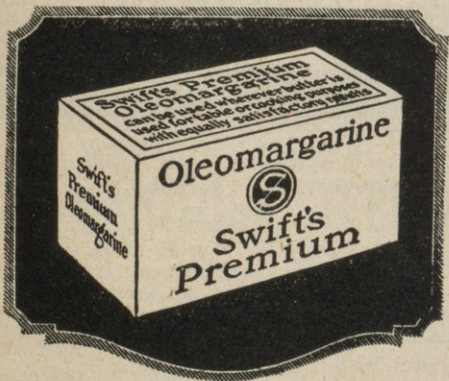
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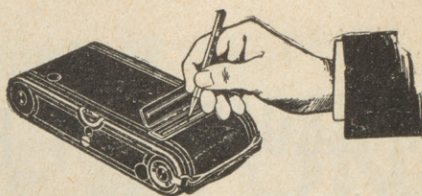
I had a few dollars in the bank and was saving a little all the time, but without any definite plan. I looked at my neighbors, some of them men of means and wondered what they did with their money, their extra money, I mean. I supposed they invested it somehow, but how? That was the question and I was too bashful to ask.

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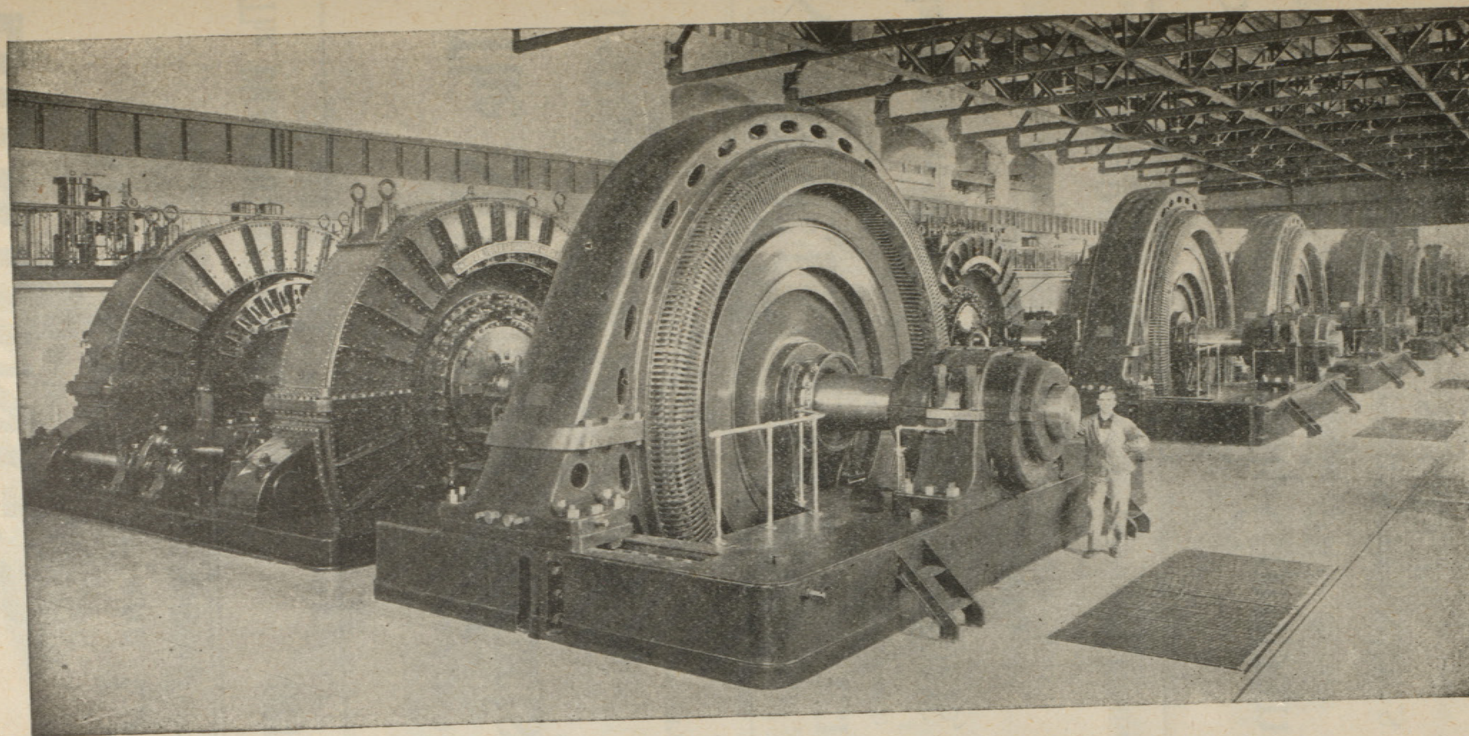
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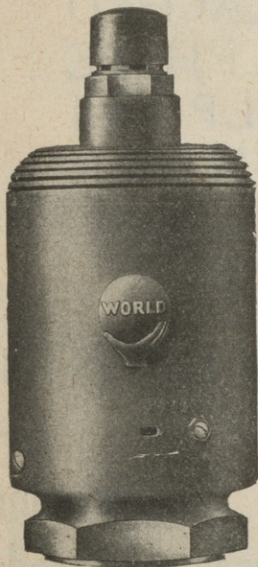
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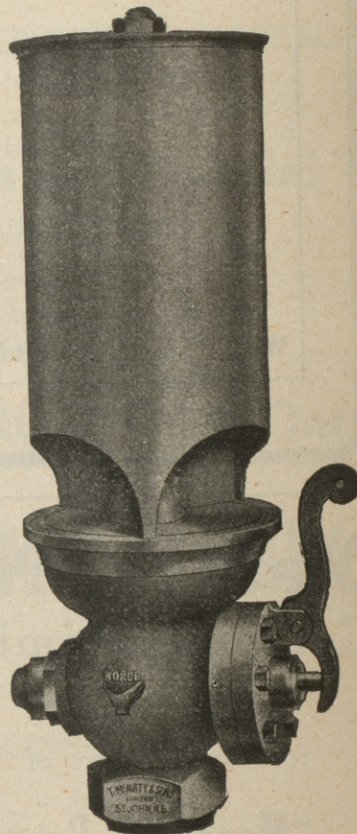
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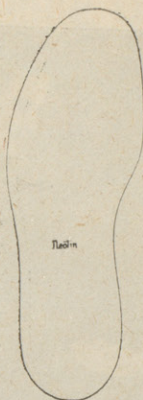
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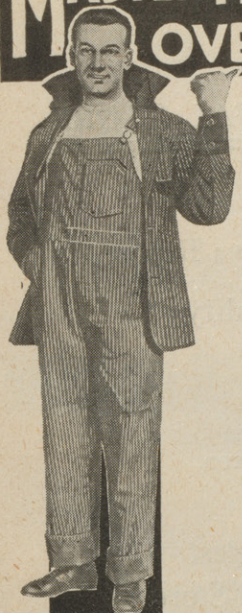
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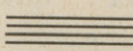
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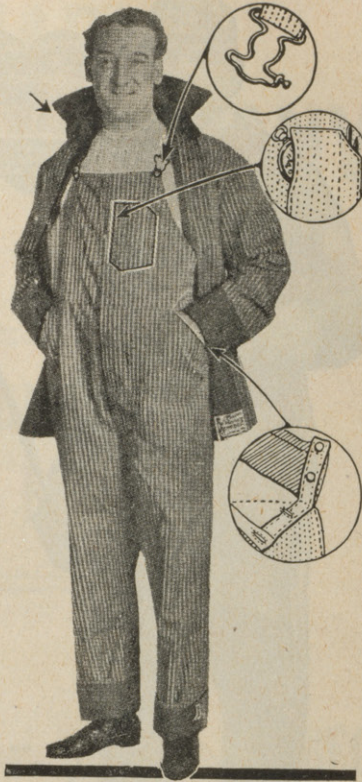
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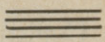
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

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